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Variety is the spice of life for most youngsters today

What is different about young people today? Do they in fact differ that much from their elder brothers and sisters? They certainly seem to think so themselves.

"Young people today are head and shoulders above their predecessors," says Klaus, a sixteen-year-old schoolboy. "When grown-ups start going on about how things used to be, I invariably think how stupid they must have been. You wouldn't have caught me doing things like that."

And Doris, aged 17, reckons: "We are entirely different from young people twenty years ago. I would hate to have been around twenty years ago in the grim post-war years when people had entirely different problems, of course." Doris is a trainee white collar worker.

These two youngsters stand for many who make no bones about their rejection of traditional patterns of thought and hand-me-down modes of behaviour and conduct.

They are quoted in *Jugendreport*, a survey of attitudes among young people conducted by the Youth Research Institute, Munich, edited by Dr Hermann Sand and Kurt H. Lanz and published by Adolf Bonz Verlag, Stuttgart, at 19.80 deutschmarks.

The 220-page Youth Report summarises the conclusions of a number of surveys conducted among today's youngsters. Its compilers' stated aim is to supply new information about the younger generation and to help to contribute towards a better understanding of young people.

The report was commissioned both by government agencies and by private enterprise.

The Munich pollsters conducted their surveys in one of two ways. They held group discussions with six or eight youngsters in one age group. They also held in-depth interviews with individual youngsters.

In all, more than 1,500 interviews were conducted with fourteen- to 29-year-olds by random sample in each and every Bonn Bundestag constituency.

Yet the pollsters do not claim that their survey is in any way comprehensive. It may be based on random sample interviews held all over the country, but all they do claim is that it reveals basic patterns here and there.

"Not only views about young people have changed; young people themselves are different," the Youth Report opines, but more in the manner of a breezy introduction to the subject than as a claim allegedly backed by empirical data.

On the whole young people are optimistic. Seventy-seven per cent of youngsters questioned reckoned variety was the spice of life.

As for the subjects that particularly interest young people, especially girls and young women, manufacturers of consumer goods will probably breathe a sigh of relief to learn that sex or politics no longer hold pride of place. All told, younger members of the female sex are mainly interested in fashion.

Forty-two per cent of sixteen- to 29-year-old girls and women consider the vagaries of fashion and the ups and downs of hemlines and the rag trade to be of prime importance.

The topics that come next in order of importance are education, with 35 per cent, furnishing, with thirty per cent, social issues, with 27 per cent, and politics, which commands a mere 21 per cent interest.

"I should like to have a good job and later to marry and have children," says fifteen-year-old Cordula, who still goes to school.

This is what most youngsters hope to get out of life: personal freedom, good money, satisfying work and a happy family life.

The revolutionary element is conspicuous by its absencce, and as for the generation conflict, everyone admits that there is such a thing, but the overwhelming majority of young people reckons that the gap between the generations is not too wide to be bridged.

Ninety per cent of fourteen- to twenty-year-olds reckon bridges can be built and tend to feel sorry for their elders rather than aggressive towards them. "There is no changing them," children say of their parents with a shake of their heads, "so they will just have to stay as they are."

What this amounts to in practice is that young people, far from being rebellious, are prepared to agree with their elders for the sake of peace and quiet and in order to get on at work and keep the family reasonably happy.

This attitude certainly seems typical of today's youngsters, who while they are prepared to admit that they do not always agree with their parents and teachers and bosses are willing, in the final analysis, to come to terms even though they may not see eye to eye.



Top of the class

Female auto mechanics are still rare birds in many countries and Petra, 17, is only the third girl in the Federal Republic of Germany successfully to complete her apprenticeship as a coachbuilder. She served two and a half years in her father's garage before taking her exams alongside 26 male apprentices — and coming top of the class. But she now plans to set her cap at further education with a view to becoming a trades college lecturer.

(Photo: Hans-Dieter Kuhn)

It seems only yesterday that young people were up in arms against elder persons. Take, for instance, the slogan: "Trust no one over thirty." So times surely have changed over the past ten or fifteen years.

Who is responsible for the change? Opinion leaders — a somewhat vague category. They can, of course, be individuals, and from all walks of life. One youngster in fourteen reckons he or she exercises influence on friends and acquaintances.

More often than not, however, opinions are led by the media. Young people are particularly avid consumers of radio, for instance. Surprisingly enough, however, they also attach a fair amount of importance to their daily paper.

Sixty-four per cent of the over-seventeens regularly read a daily newspaper.

Yet some of the assumptions on which the Youth Report is based come as more of an eye-opener about the pollsters than about young people. "Work, unlike politics, is a topic that interests young people," the survey claims, for instance.

The Munich pollsters go on to list improvements in vocational training facilities, job safeguards and shopfloor participation in management as specific issues that interest most young people very much.

Young people are not unduly interested in topics such as the relationship between management and the unions or entrepreneurial behaviour patterns, the survey adds. These, the authors maintain, are issues too abstract for youngsters to bother worrying about.

They then go on to explain why — unwittingly, perhaps. "Who would care to say whether the younger generation is going to come off best if it is allowed a say in its elders' debates on political theory?"

The pollsters would seem to suffer from a shortfall of theory themselves at this point. They could hardly have veered wider of the mark. If job selection and safeguards are not political issues, what is?

If theoretical issues as outlined by the pollsters are regarded by most young people as too abstract, the reason could just possibly be that not the subject matter but the choice of words was to blame.

"Can everyone in this country make it to the job he or she wants by dint of hard work?" the youngsters were asked. Fortyfive per cent said yes, 55 per cent no.

The majority of those who felt this was not the case also reckon it is high time something was done about it.

Wolf Scheller

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 July 1977)

The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 7 August 1977
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MBFR talks have proved their worth

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The twelfth round of MBFR talks in Vienna has adjourned for its summer recess. The troop cut talks have been in progress for four years now.

For over a year Nato delegations have tried to induce the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR to discuss why Western estimates of Warsaw Pact troop strength in the countries concerned differ so substantially from the figure claimed by the Kremlin.

Western sources estimate the manpower of land forces stationed in the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia to total 962,000, whereas the Soviet Union reckons the true figure is 791,000.

The Soviet figure is only marginally higher than the 805,000 men stationed in this country, Belgium and Holland — Western countries in which troop cuts are envisaged.

The West, however, reckons that the East bloc has 171,000 more troops stationed in its sector of Central Europe than Nato in its corresponding sector.

The Bonn government is known to be discussing with its allies the possibility of a new political move aimed at bringing the MBFR talks to an initial conclusion.

An outcome of some kind or other in Vienna is felt to be particularly desirable now that the Salt talks are unlikely to come to further fruition for some time.

Bonn has no intention of departing from agreed Nato policy, however. Chancellor Schmidt stipulated negotiations "on the basis of East-West parity, equal security for both sides and collective defence of the West."

It is, perhaps, worth noting that Helmut Schmidt refers to parity and equal security on an East-West basis, but to the collective principle solely with regard to Nato.

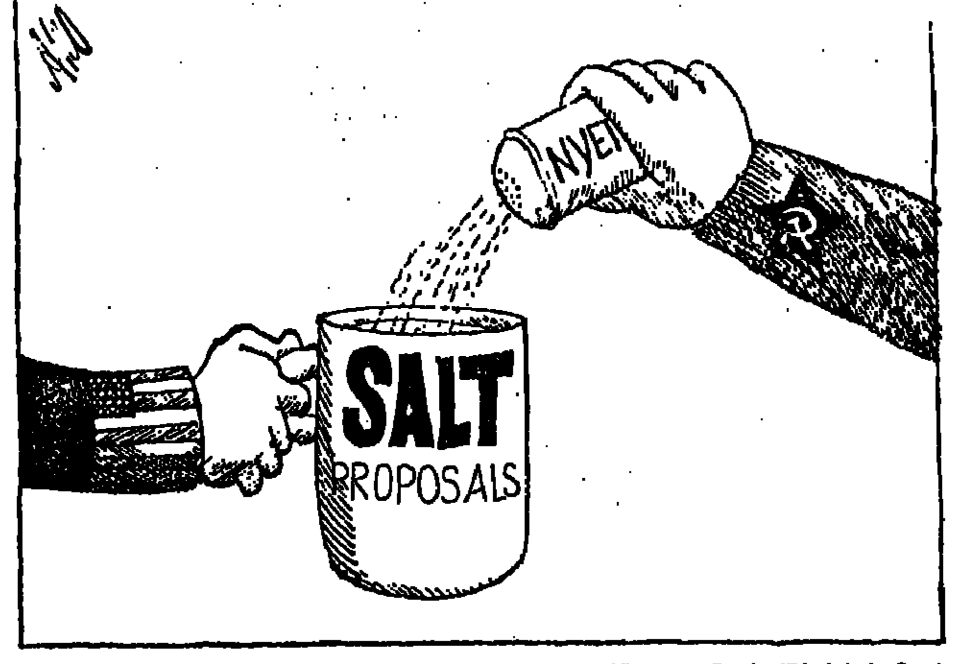
What is more, the Foreign Office is on record as stating that symbolic cuts are out of the question. So the government evidently has no intention of acting on Willy Brandt's recommendation of last winter to start with symbolic cuts as a prelude to cuts in national armed forces.

Indeed, the West is only prepared to negotiate collective ceilings to its armed forces, leaving the size of national armed forces to be decided by Nato within whatever overall limits are agreed and not on the basis of any commitment undertaken towards the Soviet Union.

Herr Schmidt is determined to ensure that the Soviet Union is not entitled by the terms of troop cut agreements to any kind of say in the minutiae of Nato arrangements.

He also refers to parity and equal security, meaning that the West's objective at the Vienna troop cut talks will continue to be a reduction of troop strengths in Central Europe in such a way as to ensure that US, Soviet and national armed forces in the countries concerned will eventually total 700,000 on each side as currently envisaged by the West.

So where parity and collective principles are concerned, Bonn's latest proposals consitute nothing basically new.



(Cartoon: Candea/Rheinische Post)

Contrary to the impression the MBFR talks may have conveyed, conferences of this kind are more than a mere attempt to negotiate terms of reference for troop strength, firepower, training facilities and geostrategic considerations with a view to agreeing on cuts.

The principal objective is a political consideration: agreement on certain principles of security and order so as to keep the East-West conflict manageable.

Mutual renunciation of the use of force is to be underpinned by a voluntary renunciation of the wherewithal with which supremacy might be exercised. This would constitute a measure of political detente.

Thus parity is not just important in a quantitive, military context; it also has political ramifications. It is a matter of accepting the presence and existence of the adversary and accepting, in lieu of peace, at least an armistice as a permanent condition of world affairs.

To what extent does the Soviet Union appreciate either the justification of this Western demand or the West's determination to see it accepted?

For years Russia refused to see the point, insisting on troop cuts that ensured continued Soviet predominance. Suddenly, last summer, Mr Brezhnev changed the Soviet tune.

He published East bloc figures purporting to show that troop strengths in Central Europe are virtually equal and claimed that approximate parity was already established.

May we take this to mean that the Soviet Union has at least accepted the principle of parity? This alone would be at least partial progress, although an explanation of the missing 170,000 men is still not forthcoming.

Have the Vienna talks been worthwhile from the West's point of view? Are they worth continuing? The answer to these questions is not necessarily to be found in Vienna.

The MBFR talks have certainly proved useful to Nato, putting paid to what, only a few years ago, was the imminent risk of unilateral troop cuts by Nato countries.

US Congressional opinion is no longer hell-bent on pulling US troops out of Europe, and public opinion in other European countries is no longer as insistent on troop cuts as it once was.

It the Vienna talks were to have accomplished no more than to forestall the unilateral withdrawal of a single brigade the diplomats' expenses would have been money well spent.

Whether or not the final outcome is greater security for both sides remains to be seen, but if it does so it will have been by means of insistence on both parity and the collective principle.

Günther Gillessen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 July 1977)

IN THIS ISSUE

Friderichs: Closer ties with Japan

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Bonn and Tokyo plan to intensify and institutionalise their economic policy ties, Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs announced in Frankfurt on his return from a two-week tour of Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

Regular meetings will, he stated, be held at senior civil servant level. Herr Friderichs was particularly gratified to be able to report this progress because, as he noted, ties with Japan are "slightly underdeveloped" in comparison with the close links within the European Community and with the United States.

Referring to Japan's periodic tendency to be somewhat aggressive in its export policies and to the subsequent inclination on the part of European countries to ward off Japanese exports by resorting to protectionist measures, Herr Friderichs reckoned he had succeeded in impressing on his Japanese hosts that they share responsibility for the free world trade they advocate and ought not to upset the boat and provide others with an opportunity of resorting to protectionism.

Herr Friderichs stressed that the Japanese government is willing to step up imports and called on firms in this country to pay greater attention to the Japanese market. Household equipment and high-grade furniture ought, he noted, to sell well in Japan.

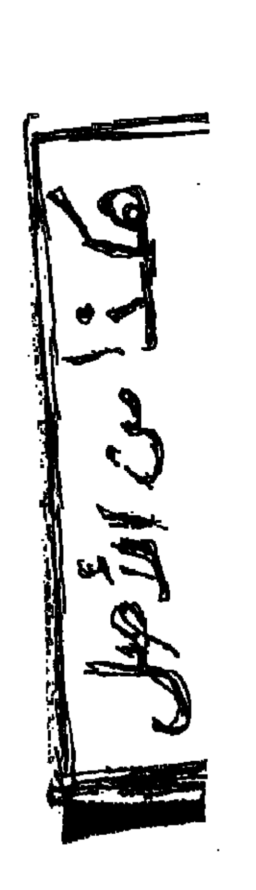
The Minister expressed satisfaction with the course of his energy talks in Australia, which is an interesting prospective partner for this country in view of its proven deposits of uranium ore.

He reckoned to have outlined clearly this country's viewpoint and to be "not dissatisfied" with the outcome.

He did not mention a direct link between uranium supplies and Australia's talks with the EEC, which are due to begin in October. Australia, Herr Friderichs noted, is keen to improve its access to the Common Market, and this issue is regarded as a major one there.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 August 1977)



■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Enlargement of the Common Market will impose economic strains

For months Spain has been expected to apply for Common Market membership, yet now it has finally done so the news still comes as something of a surprise.

The element of surprise may, of course, have been no more than that *Spain's EEC membership bid was not* anticipated before autumn or even *towards the end of the year.*

But the response certainly sheds light on the view of membership applications taken by Common Market officials in Brussels.

Officially the EEC is all smiles, cordially welcoming would-be members; beneath the surface, and concealed only *with difficulty, the prevailing sentiment* is one of scepticism.

The Spanish Cabinet decided on 26 July to submit its formal entry bid, increasing to three the number of EEC membership applications that are currently in the pipeline.

Portugal applied last spring to join the European Community, while Greece, which was first off the mark, is busy negotiating terms with the Nine.

The nine members of the existing Common Market appear to have mixed feelings about the prospective enlargement of the EEC.

Politicians from Common Market countries who visit Madrid, Lisbon or Athens are quick to assure their hosts that they are all in favour of accession. Indeed, they even convey the impression of being overjoyed at the very prospect.

Back home such statements are couched in substantially more cautious language, while individual Cabinet Ministers would no longer deny for a moment that they have the gravest misgivings.

There can be no mistaking the EEC's dilemma. Spain, Greece and Portugal, having parted company with dictatorial regimes, are progressing towards democracy.

The Common Market, although still primarily an economic community, is increasingly trying to step up political cooperation and thus coming to take political shape.

Would-be new members all have a twofold objective. They hope that EEC membership will contribute towards political stability at home while proving economically advantageous at the same time.

The snag is, however, that all three countries, albeit to a varied extent, are not yet economically in a position to join the EEC as it now stands.

Yet for political reasons the major Common Market countries repeatedly declared their readiness to support the would-be newcomers once they had restored democracy, and they can hardly renege on these undertakings now.

Besides, the Common Market is not an exclusive club. Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome stipulates that any European country is entitled to apply for membership.

So it is no longer a matter of *whether* Spain, Greece and Portugal may join the EEC, but of *how* they may best do so, given the misgivings that have already been aired.

There is, for instance, anxiety lest the Community be watered down even further. Smaller members of the existing Nine anticipate even greater complications when not nine, but twelve Ministers, are expected to reach a consensus.

With agreement already limited to the lowest common denominator, further di*lution would seem more than likely,* so the Benelux countries are calling for the introduction of majority voting in the Council of Ministers prior to any further expansion of the EEC.

Majority voting, however, is an unlikely prospect as yet. None of the leading Common Market countries have the slightest inclination to allow themselves to be outvoted in the EEC.

Britain and France have always made great play with their sovereignty, yet not even Bonn is prepared to forfeit sovereignty to this extent, much though this country may convey the impression that it might be willing to do so.

Bonn has financial reasons for taking good care to ensure that there is no departure from the principle of unanimity *on EEC decisions.*

Were this country to agree to majority voting it would no doubt before long be required to shoulder inordinate financial burdens, since the others would have no difficulty in agreeing on how to spend Bonn's money.

So it is valid to argue that enlargement of the Common Market would entail further dilution. Three new members with interests of their own would not only render further progress towards integration substantially more difficult; they would also hold up even fairly straightforward decisions.

A solution to this dilemma which is regularly mooted is that a distinction be made between vital issues and those of less pressing significance. In other words, unanimous decisions would no longer be required on minor issues.

But minor issues are not the problem, so this is hardly the answer, and institutional reforms seem destined to remain on the agenda as long as the current membership bids are in the pipeline.

The economic repercussions are a no less serious handicap. Of the three would-be new members of the EEC Spain has made the greatest progress in industrial development, but agriculture still accounts for an inordinately large slice of the Spanish economy.

As for Greece and Portugal, both are really developing countries that hardly belong to the club of industrialised nations the current EEC may be said to constitute.

In the industrial sector none of the three will be able to withstand competition from the big boys, so hard times lie in store.

At present their home industries enjoy *the protection afforded by tariff barriers,* but these barriers will gradually be abolished once Spain, Greece and Portugal join the Common Market.

Between Common Market countries there are no tariff barriers on industrial goods, but where the would-be new boys hope to gain is via unrestricted access to the common agricultural market.

This is a prospect which officials both *in Brussels* and *in* the various Common Market capitals view with anything but pleasurable anticipation.

Citrus fruits and wine are the principal exports of the would-be newcomers to the EEC. Both are grown in France and Italy too, but at far greater expense.

Spain, for instance, can undercut France and Italy by forty per cent on average, so Paris and Rome are determined to make the admission of Spain, Greece and Portugal dependent on a thorough review of Common Agricultural Policy.

What they want is a more active Mediterranean policy; in other words, measures designed to render farmers in Southern Italy and the south of France more competitive.

Subsidies will thus be required, with the Mediterranean countries arguing that seventy per cent of the EEC's agricultural fund is ploughed into "northern" and

Continued on page 5

West gets a peep at Soviet military manoeuvres

Timing has always been one of the Soviet Union's fortes when political decisions are in the offing, and never more *so than in inviting military* observers to attend manoeuvres in the Carpathian mountains from 12 to 16 July.

Unlike this country and other Western States who have extended an open invitation to the other 34 countries represented at the CSCE talks in Helsinki, the Soviet Union has limited invitations to send observers to military manoeuvres to a handful of Western and neutral countries.

On this occasion the invitation was extended to neutral Austria and Switzerland, non-aligned Yugoslavia and a mere three Nato countries — the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and France.

It was the fourth time since Mr Brezhnev signed the Helsinki accords that the Soviet Union had given prior notice of manoeuvres and the third time observers were invited to attend, so the timing was definitely no coincidence.

The manoeuvres coincided with the preliminary talks leading up to the Belgrade review conference, and so far the Soviet Union has not exactly conveyed the impression that it is particularly keen for the Belgrade conference to prove a resounding success.

While the Yugoslavs announced their intention of recommending a wider range of "measures designed to inspire confidence" the Soviet Union took a convenient opportunity of demonstrating how Moscow stands by the provisions of the Helsinki Agreement and how anxious the Kremlin is to abide by the Spirit of Helsinki.

Last spring the Soviet Union announced its intention of holding manoeuvres somewhere in the USSR. Since the location was not specified the intention can only have been to put a feather in the Kremlin's cap in preparation for the Belgrade conference.

Manoeuvres were also held in Soviet Karelia in June 1976 and observers from five neighbouring countries invited to attend. They just happened to coincide with a visit to Finland by Bonn President Walter Scheel, who as Foreign Minister had played a leading role in fostering detente and paving the way for the CSCE.

The Soviet Union was able to kill two birds with one stone, demonstrating to Presidents Kekkonen and Scheel how seriously Moscow takes the recommendations embodied in the Helsinki accords and also reminding the Finns that the overwhelming Soviet military presence is but a stone's throw away.

This leaves only the first post-Helsinki Soviet announcement of intent to hold manoeuvres, which was made in respect of manoeuvres in the Caucasus in spring 1976 and entailed invitations to five neighbouring States to send observers.

These manoeuvres were probably announced beforehand because Nato had already given notice to hold several manoeuvres, and the Soviet Union had no intention of allowing Nato to argue that the Warsaw Pact, which had yet to follow suit, was dragging its feet on "confidence-inspiring measures".

It had taken the East bloc more than two years at Helsinki to agree to advance notice of manoeuvres in the first place.

The West originally called for notification sixty days in advance of manoeuvres involving divisional strength or more. The Soviet Union was only prepared to give five or six days' notice of manoeuvres involving a corps or more.

In July 1975 the two sides finally agreed on 21 days' notice of manoeuvres involving 25,000 men or more. *Countries with territory extending beyond Europe* (Russia and Turkey, *in* other words) are only required to notify others of manoeuvres held within 250 kilometres of the nearest European country.

As for the balance of "confidence-inspiring measures" since undertaken, the seven Nato signatories of the Helsinki Agreement have since given notification of manoeuvres on thirteen occasions, fewer than 25,000 men being involved in seven instances.

Of the neutrals Yugoslavia has given advance notice of two manoeuvres, Sweden and Switzerland one each. The Swedes and Yugoslavs both chose to notify others of manoeuvres involving fewer than 25,000 men under arms.

Of the Warsaw Pact countries the Soviet Union has notified other European countries of manoeuvres on four occasions, Hungary twice and Poland once.

Siegried Löffler

(Der Tagesspiegel, 27 July 1977)

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Nuclear reactor case may go to Supreme Court

Administrative court judges in Münster are considering suspending further hearings over the construction of a fast breeder nuclear reactor in Kalkar on the lower Rhine, and handing the case over to the Federal Supreme Court. Their reason: the decision to build a nuclear power station was taken by the Executive "only" and not by Parliament. The judges doubt whether the decision is compatible with the Basic Law. They will make their decision on 18 August.

A letter from the Administrative Court in Münster could make Parliamentary history. The people's repre*sentatives have always tried to control* and watch over the government's actions, or at least that is their theoretical function.

It now looks as if the Federal Constitutional Court is going to force the federal and the state parliaments to start exerting the influence which they seem to have lost over the past few years.

Whether they like it or not, these par*liaments are going to win back part of* the influence which in recent years they have apathetically ceded to governments and ministerial bureaucracies.

At first glance the judges from Münster seem to be asking a simple question: do the regulations and procedures for allowing the construction of fast breeder reactors conform to constitutional requirements?

But however *it tackles its task, the* Constitutional Court will hardly be able to avoid making a decision which will mean a basic shift in power between government and parliament.

It is highly unlikely that the judges of the Constitutional Court will not have to face this problem. True, the Münster judges have merely stated in a letter that they *may* refer the matter to the Karlsruhe court, but it would be illogical for them to abandon their intention at this stage. This is why one must read the letter from Münster very carefully.

The judges do not insist that parliament should give detailed scrutiny to every application before granting permission for an atomic power station to be built. An entire society is making the qualitative leap into a new technology which could have millenial consequences. The judges criticise the fact that this decision has so far been a purely administrative one.

The apparently strongest objection to major parliamentary participation is not based on the parliamentarian's lack of expertise in the field. It is an objection to the principle of parliamentary politics in the (post) industrial age.

Political decision-making is deciding if one wants something which, according to the experts, will have certain consequences. The experts can merely prepare the ground for a decision, they cannot make the decision themselves. It is not a purely scientific conclusion, it is an existential question.

Democratic politics depend on the principle *that one can explain* and make comprehensible the main criteria and the conditions which have led to a certain decision.

When experts blandly claim that they alone are capable of judging whether their findings are correct, this is dogmatic, authoritarian elitism. It also means that their findings as such do not yet provide a basis for political decision.

Political decision-making is not arriving at expert conclusions. It is evaluating such conclusions and expressing one's opinion on them.

Whether a decision is taken by ministerial or parliamentary politicians is not primarily a question of respective degrees of competence and expertise. It is a question of the role assigned to them by the constitution.

If one looks at the political functions which, traditionally, have quite clearly been exercised by parliament, there is no doubt that decisions of principle involving new technologies are the prerogative of parliament.

The antiquated categories of the division of power in a democracy are no longer a satisfactory means of combining executive with legislative functions. Governments nowadays do not merely enact laws which parliament has passed.

Both government and parliament have other functions. Together they both have what is known as government functions in Anglo-Saxon countries, though the distribution of these functions differs.

Even here, epoch-making decisions about a technology with considerable political implications are quite clearly the prerogative of parliament, in principle at least.

One cannot complain about the proliferation of *Bürgerinitiativen* (citizens' action groups), court intervention and decision-making by powerful lobbies and the same time disenfranchise parliament politically.

But is it not the job of the parliaments themselves to recover the ground the have lost on questions of principle? Has not parliament enough opportunities of taking overall decisions which are prepared and discussed in its own *committees and bodies?*

The imminent constitutional judgement raises this question: should parliaments by their inaction allow functions which the constitution assigns to them to be taken from them?

The unlimited powers and empowerment laws are based on a false premise. They assume parliament is the *owner* of the functions the constitution has as*signed to it, whereas in really it is only* an *executor* or *trustee.* In fact parliament cannot actively or passively transmit its tasks to others, cannot abandon its functions to other decision-making bodies.

Once upon a time parliaments fought to gain power and influence. If it takes the Constitutional Court to remaind Parliament of its function and duty, then this throws an interesting light on the state of parliamentary politics in this country.

Robert Leicht

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 July 1977)

FDP wants plesbiscites for controversial issues

Why the FDP should now decide to bring up the plebiscite question again is a complete mystery. The third force is a typical product of indirect representative democracy.

Its only real chance of surviving as an influential political force is within the framework of parliaments and their committees.

In a system where tactics and finesse are the order of the day, one needs a displaceable mass with which to create majorities. But in the pro and contra of plebiscites such moderate elements would certainly go to the wall.

In the final analysis the question of why its Policy Review Committee came up with the plebiscite idea right out of the blue is one which the FDP will have to work out for itself.

There is undeniably some justification for raising the question. Citizens' action groups are on the move, discontent with the parties is increasing and there is a widespread feeling that our rulers are not really aware of the people's concerns and anxieties.

But things look different when one speculates on what would have happened if we had had plebiscites in the past few years.

The educational reforms would not have been so idiotically extreme, the judiciary would have been granted the right to use far more draconian measures against terrorism, there would have been no tax reform, co-determination would have remained an academic subject, and conscientious objectors would have had a far harder time of it.

The future of atomic anergy would probably look no bleaker than it does today, but inflation might be a lot worse.

In other words, taking positive and negative consequences and weighing them up against one another, we would hardly be much better off than we are today. On the other hand, such speculations do show that professional parliamentary politics do not really reflect the aspirations of the people. It follows laws which have about as much to do with the needs of the populace as Emily Post's "Etiquette" has to do with a healthy appetite.

Over the years, representative democ*racy has turned into a system in which* everything is sewn up. Elections come and go, and the party riding high when they come round wins. It seems arbitrary, a game of chance.

Many Members of Parliament find that there is an enormous gulf between the smooth professional system in Bonn and the simple life in their constituencies. In Bonn they use the appropriately high-powered language which they divest themselves of before going home at weekends.

The question is whether the possibility of a plebiscite is the desired panacea for these unhappy developments. The FDP only wants referenda at the supra-regional level. Citizens are to be given the opportunity to express their wishes. The legislature can then decide whether to grant them or not.

In the end this would only lead to a situation where parties would try to block unpopular measures by threatening referenda. The citizens, on the other hand, would soon tire of being a perpetual barometer of the mood of the people.

The FDP wants to introduce binding referenda at the local level. It is difficult to see how impressive majorities are going to be obtained for local and parish-pump problems. The plebiscite at this level could soon lead to preposterous situations, especially as self-interest often distorts democratic reasoning at this level.

Most important of all, it is questionable whether this would be a satisfactory means of ending the disillusionment with parliament. The questions for plebiscites and referenda would be formulated by politicians. The glass bead game would become a popular sport. Opinions which could not be formulated politically would be at a disadvantage and might not be heard at all.

The plebiscite is not the solution. What might help is if parliament were more aware of the wishes of the people, if there were more feed-back. Perhaps primaries for the nomination of Members of Parliament would be a step in the right direction. FDP executive Verheugen suggested this recently.

The most important move in this direction would be if the Opposition could take its chance, break out of the consensus cartel of the professional politicians and present real alternatives. This is what our discontented citizens really want.

Ludolf Herrmann

(Deutsche Zeitung, 29 July 1977)

Genscher seeks compromise within the FDP

Discussions about party programmes always spell trouble these days. Big parties such as the CDU and the SPD even have to look on as fists fly and people get hurt, some badly.

Parties like these are so wide-ranging that they invite this kind of in-fighting between the various wings and factions.

With a small party such as the FDP, things are different. It cannot afford the luxury of major confrontations on policies and programmes. This could lead to it going out of existence. The FPD are too near the five per cent limit for comfort.

It is therefore understandable that party leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher has been trying hard to take some of the sting out of the programme discussion which has been going on heatedly in the past few weeks.

His letter, which accompanied the Policy Review Committee's draft programme, is a demonstrative warning to his party colleagues. Genscher's motto is: discussion by all means, but be ready to make compromises at the party conference.

He wants to go some way to reconciling the undeniable differences between the Committee's draft programme and the Economic Committee's programme, which has already been published. The CDU/CSU has already set its sights on the weak spots in these draft programmes. In their eyes, two different parties have now emerged, both going under the name of FDP.

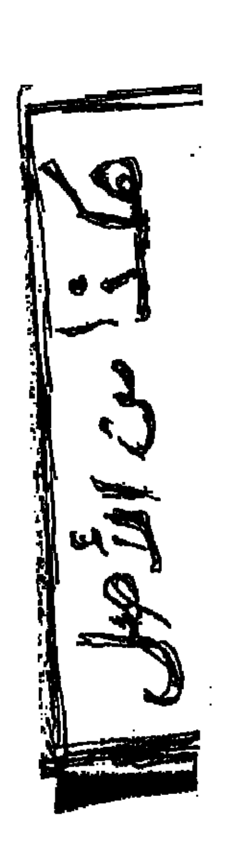
The discussion will show whether the difference between the two programmes is really as great as it appears at the moment or whether it is really only a matter of vocabulary.

If the programme question and the coalition question were taken together, the situation could become explosive. Those in the party who want to move closer to the SPD and prolong the coalition will be in no mood for compromise.

Herr Genscher will need all his tactical skill and powers of leadership if he is to achieve the aim he has set himself: to give the liberals an unmistakeable programme which would demonstrate the FDP's independence of both main parties.

Peter Hopen

(Bremer Nachrichten, 29 July 1977)



EMPLOYMENT

Millions lost in evaded tax by work done 'on the side'

No-one would suspect a tax fiddle behind the following advertisement in Hamburg's classified telephone directory: "TV repairs in your home at fixed prices".

But the relevant guild and Hamburg's trade supervision authority have known about this operator for more than seven years — seven years in which the authorities and the Chamber of Trades have been bombarded with complaints from a disgruntled public.

The two men who operated this illegal business, however — a pastry chef and a semi-trained television technician — remained undaunted by fines and a decree by the authorities prohibiting further operations.

The ad in the classified directory is evidently paying off. When things got too hot in Hamburg they moved their business to a neighbouring state until there, too, the authorities latched on to them. This necessitated yet another move.

The trade association views such practices with growing resignation, and the authorities bemoan their lack of staff, which makes it virtually impossible for them to exercise control.

This state of affairs has enabled another operator in the environs of Bremerhaven to pursue his profitable business for more than ten years.

By the beginning of this year he could look back on 160 houses that were erected by him — according to cautious estimates of the local Chamber of Trade. This has brought him an estimated profit of more than DM 3 million.

His recipe is as simple as it is effective. He buys a building site and has the house designed by an approved architect who obtains the necessary planning permission from the authorities.

With this done he has no further trouble since the authorities do not check whether construction is carried out by a registered company.

Last February this entrepreneur was fined DM 20,000. But even so, it is uncertain whether he will ever have to actually fork out the money since he has appealed against the penalty.

It is obvious that one man alone cannot cope with such a flow of orders and make a profit to the tune of millions of deutschmarks.

As a result, the big operators hire other "moonlight" workers for whom — in some instances — they even pay taxes and social security contributions. But even so, their saving is enormous.

According to calculations carried out by the chambers of trade, regular companies frequently have to pay up to 60 per cent of the hourly wage bill in the form of various fringe benefits. Moreover, the legally operating tradesmen obviously have considerable overheads.

According to the Central Association of German Trade Guilds, this type of work on a grand scale has increased considerably in the past few years. What originally began as neighbourly help — and which the trade guilds not only tolerated, but even encouraged in boom periods when labour was in short supply, has now assumed new forms.

Thousands of millions of deutschmarks in the form of evaded taxes are lost to government coffers as a result of work being done "on the side".

The Central Association of German Trade Guilds, in a recently released White Paper, estimates the annual turnover of these operators at between 6,000 and 25,000 million deutschmarks.

Assuming that the higher of these two figures is correct, their turnover accounts for 10 per cent of the total turnover of our 512,000 legally operating companies in the trades sector. The loss in taxes and social security payments therefore amounts to between DM 2,500 and DM 7,000 million.

Estimates of the amount of work done "on the side", however, must be viewed with caution since neither the income tax authorities nor the trade associations have any accurate material available to them.

Even statistics of the Central Association of German Trade Guilds concerning fines imposed on illegal operators in the course of last year provide no accurate picture concerning the extent of these activities since only those who have been caught can be fined.

The courts collected only a meagre DM 1,4 million in fines during 1976 — which makes it obvious that this reflects only the tip of the iceberg.

The list of fines is topped by operators in the construction and house decorating sectors. Illegal bricklayers alone accounted for more than DM 333,000 in fines, while plasterers and roofers each paid about DM 120,000, and painters accounted for fines totalling DM 117,000.

But the construction business is not the only domain of "moonlighters". The widespread wish of the public to get work done at cut rates secures a considerable slice of the cake to illegal automobile mechanics, radio and TV technicians, hairdressers, printers and bakers.

From a legal point of view, untaxed work after regular working hours or on weekends falls in the category of a misdemeanour.

According to law, anybody who works without being registered with a trade association can be fined up to DM 10,000 under the Trades Act. Moreover, the law for the combatting of illegal work permits fines of up to DM 30,000.

But the lawmakers have not made it easy to fight operators working outside legality. The onus to prove "profiteering" and "work to a considerable extent" rests with the prosecution.

In order to defend themselves against this unwelcome competition, the chambers of trades have resorted to rather unusual means in the past few years. Thus, for instance, they employ private detectives to track down illegal operators and provide the authorities with the necessary information.

In Slade, Lower Saxony, a detective agency succeeded in tracking down some 300 such operators within the past three years.

According to the local chamber of trades, the number of houses built after working hours has diminished drastically since the sleuths fanned out.

But even so, illegal labour activity thrives — especially in rural areas. According to the guilds, some 80 to 90 per cent of private homes built in such areas are erected with unregistered labour.

The victims of such practices are in all instances legal businesses which are deprived of orders by the illegal competition and, of course, the state and the social security funds which are deprived of taxes and contributions.

But the customers, too, frequently find that rather than saving money they have incurred extra expenses by employing illegal labour, since they, too, are subject to fines.

A Hanover court recently imposed a fine of DM 15,000 on a 34-year old butcher who had two houses with nine apartements each built by illegal labour.

And yet, the butcher had not only paid taxes and social security contributions for his illegal workers, but even the contributions to the guild — a rarity in cases such as this.

As long as the danger of being caught remains small, many prospective builders of homes consider the risk worth taking. But there is no recourse in cases of shoddy workmanship.

The customer can neither ask to have the amount of his bill reduced nor can he insist that the damage be repaired. The consequences of inexpertly done work are frequently disastrous.

Wrongly installed gas pipes and wiring or badly built roofs have already caused damage to the tune of many millions of deutschmarks. In a house near Wiesbaden, for instance, a hot water boiler exploded as a result of such work, injuring two people and demolishing the house. The damage is estimated at about DM 80,000.

The chambers of trades list hundreds of cases where the damage by far exceeded the saving.

Illegal work is particularly dangerous where automobiles are concerned and is responsible for numerous accidents. According to the automobile mechanics' guild, do-it-yourselfers and illegal workers accounted for about 30 per cent of all automobile repairs in 1976.

No matter how one looks at it, the illegal labour market is a booming business.

High prices and long waiting times where legal services are concerned, as well as the desire to save VAT, boosted the shady business in boom times. And now it is boosted by the great number of jobless.

The International Labour Organisation in Geneva estimates the number of illegal workers in the OECD countries, with their total labour force of 330 million, at roughly 16 million. This corresponds to the number of unemployed in these countries.

The FDP Member of Parliament, Richard Wurbs, recently estimated that some 200,000 jobs in the Federal Republic of Germany are lost to the labour market as a result of illegal work.

The Chamber of Trades in Lüneburg-Stade has figured out that six illegal workers occupy one regular job.

Last May the Bonn Government, too, included more stringent controls and measures to combat illegal labour in its programme to provide more jobs.

But what our Government wants to prevent by more stringent controls and higher fines it also promotes by ever-rising taxes and social security contributions.

According to the International Labour Organisation, the strongest motive to do extra work is the desire for an additional tax-free income.

People are prompted to employ this type of labour by the constantly rising prices of regular work. All this combined makes for a full order book for our illegal operators. Moreover, there is also the satisfaction of having outwitted the Government.

Erika Martens

(Die Zeit, 29 July 1977)

Plan to broaden workers' capital building scheme

The Bonn Government is planning to improve the Capital Accumulation Act as of 1 January 1978.

It is, however, not intended to extend the DM 624 Act to DM 936 since at present only 17 per cent of the country's working population fully enjoys the benefits of this Act.

But even so, it is considered possible that subsidies will be extended in the course of the current legislative period. An announcement to this effect was made by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in his Government policy declaration of last December.

According to the Bonn Ministry of Finance, however, there are still a number of political and, above all, technical difficulties to be overcome.

It is nevertheless considered possible that the expansion of capital accumulation measures will be discussed and passed at the forthcoming coalition talks at the end of August.

Preliminary work to this end is now being carried out not only at the Bonn Finance Ministry, but also at the Labour Ministry and the Ministry of Economic Affairs. A paper on this issue was already presented by Minister of Economic Affairs Hans Friderichs at the end of the last legislative period.

The new capital accumulation proposals envisage, among other things, more participation of the workers in the nation's productive capital.

Apart from the DM 624 Act, capital accumulation measures are now also intended to include — apart from staff shares — sleeping partnerships. This would enable workers to invest savings in the form of a sleeping partnership under the terms of the third Capital Accumulation Act. This expansion is relatively unproblematic.

General share participation is also envisaged. This has hitherto only been possible in the case of wholly owned subsidiaries of a company. But in order to bring this about it would be necessary to amend the capital gains tax legislation. This legislation provides for the tax-free issue of a company's own shares, but not the transfer of other shares.

According to present regulations, the difference between the market price of a share and the preferred rate at which it is transferred to the worker is free of income tax.

This legislation could not be amended to encompass the transfer of shares of other companies, which would be of interest to those companies which do not have shares of their own available.

This would pave the way for the establishment of staff funds which would render staff participation under the DM 624 Act possible.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 28 July 1977)

TERRORISM

Gaoled terrorists go on hunger strike

Former lawyer Siegfried Haag is on hunger strike. He is in prison in Cologne-Ossendorf and has been refusing to touch food since 24 June.

Haag is accused of supplying weapons and explosives for the terrorist attack on the German Embassy in Stockholm and of being the ringleader of a criminal group which robbed banks, stole cars and committed a number of other criminal offences.

Haag is not the only one on hunger strike. The members of the so-called Red Army Faction (RAF), Ali Janssen in Werl, Ronald Augstein in Hannover, Klaus Jünschke and Manfred Grashoff in Zweibrücken and Roland Mayer, who is also on remand in Cologne, are also on hunger strike.

Lutz Taufer, Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Hanna Krabbe and Bernhard Rössner, the Stockholm terrorists sentenced to life imprisonment on 20 July have been spurning prison food since 22 June in Essen and Cologne.

For weeks now suspected, accused and sentenced anarchists have been going on hunger strike in prisons all over the country. The permutations vary, but the object is in all cases the same. They wish to be transferred to Stuttgart-Stammheim, where the "hard core" of the RAF are imprisoned.

Political friends in lawyers' robes provide the publicity for a barrage of complaints and accusations of "inhuman prison conditions" and "isolation torture". They demand a transfer to Stammheim, where they can form an "interacting group."

Public Prosecutor Kurt Rebmann has now described just what these "inhuman prison conditions" are — an unusual move for an authority usually so uncommunicative.

Siegfried Haag, for example, is allowed to spend four hours a day with Roland Mayer, who was arrested with him on 20 November 1976. He is also allowed to attend church service in the prison and to have a radio in his cell.

Haag is allowed 20 books at any one time in his cell. He has also been granted permission to read *"Le Monde"*, the magazine *"Libération"* and four German periodicals. The judge has also allowed him to have a cassette-recorder in his cell.

The former lawyer from Heidelberg can spend 300 marks more than the normal maximum on extra food and luxuries. Shortly after he was arrested, the prisoner was given nail-scissors and manicure cream and he has also been allowed to wear gym and tennis shoes.

Similar concessions have been made to Haag's fellow-prisoners. Roland Mayer, for instance, is allowed to read *"The Times"* and the Italian *"Corriere della Sera"* as well as the French papers which are obviously highly thought of in RAF circles. He has also been granted permission to wear sun-glasses in his cell.

Sabine Schmitz has successfully applied for sewing things, office material, her own clothes and her own shoes. She is already serving her sentence in Stammheim with Verena Becker, but she is only allowed contact with the women in the much-coveted third section: Gudrun Ensslin, Ingrid Schubert and Irmgard Möller.

The prosecutor's list includes everything from Sabine Schmitz's special permission to receive up to ten periodicals a month down even to a Jew's harp which has been meticulously listed as a judicially granted personal comfort.

Sabine Schmitz and Verena Becker went on hunger strike in the hope of being transferred to the seventh floor of Stammheim prison.

Gunter Sonnenberg, Uwe Folkerts and Johannes Thimme have also applied for transfers to Stammheim, though without going on hunger strike, according to the prosecutor's documents.

Sonnenberg is in the prison hospital in Hohenasperg at the moment. He is allowed contact with other prisoners from time to time, he may see his parents once a week for an hour and he can also have his own television set.

The prosecutor's office must be consulted before any decisions are made by the investigating judge or the court. They have said they will not agree to any more transfers to Stammheim. Prosecutor Kurt Rebmann was categorical about this:

The prosecutor concludes that "prison conditions are humane and fair." "In granting special treatment for certain prisoners we have gone as far as we possibly can. Any further concessions are out of the question because we could not justify them to other prisoners."

Hans Holfeld

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 July 1977)

Market strains

Continued from page 2

only sixteen per cent into "southern" produce.

The solution envisaged is already apparent. France and Italy may baulk at the agricultural repercussions of the accession of Spain, Greece and Portugal to the EEC, but they also appreciate the advantages that might accrue in CAP terms.

If the EEC expands in a southerly direction France and Italy will be able to flex more muscle when it comes to reviewing farm price policies.

Since the nothern members of a larger EEC will be unable to refuse every demand a larger southern group makes, Common Agricultural Policy is almost certain to end up being even more expensive than it already is.

Subsidies would be realtively minor problem, since guaranteed prices for Mediterranean produce would inevitably entail even greater expenditure on further agricultural surpluses.

Agriculture Ministers in the EEC's northern countries are appalled at the prospect of CAP proving even costlier. Common Agricultural Policy is already under continual fire for squandering the taxpayers' money.

At present farmers are comfortably subsidised from EEC funds, but sooner or later an upper limit will be reached, leaving Agriculture Ministers with no option but to redistribute the funds that are available.

If more money is spent on CAP as a whole, less is going to be available for the farmers who currently benefit within the Nine in general and among the EEC's northern members in particular.

So it is hardly surprising that Agriculture Ministers in these countries would prefer to circumvent full-scale enlargement of the Common Market in some way or other.

Bonn Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl has circularised among fellow-Agriculture Ministers in Brussels a confidential survey of the likely repercussions of allowing Spain, Greece and Portugal to join the Common Market.

No one, he confided at a private gathering in Brussels, was going to be able to say that he had not realised what the accession of these three countries would entail in terms of agricultural policy.

Heinz Stadlmann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 July 1977)

Leading banker shot dead in his home

The murder near Frankfurt on 30 July of Jürgen Ponto, 53, the chairman of the Dresdner Bank, shows that terrorists in the Federal Republic of Germany are now seeking out their victims at shorter and shorter intervals.

While discussion was still raging in some circles over the "quiet glee" being expressed over the recent shooting of the Director of Public Prosecutions Siegfried Buback, the assassins struck again.

The circumstances under which Ponto, one of this country's leading bankers was shot dead in his home are particularly grim considering the fact that one of his killers was apparently a friend of the family.

Police and prosecutor have learned "in the field", so to speak, in their hunt after criminals. But terror allied with mental disturbance is new terrain for them. One cannot very well expect the police and justice officials to handle cases such as this completely alone. Public cooperation is required.

Obviously one cannot prevent violence by trying to suppress violent thoughts. The only question is, what direction this type of thinking takes.

For quite a while now people have been conditioned falsely into believing that there is a so-called illegal "violence" by the government, and that violent acts by the "oppressed" are legitimate.

But it should be made plain to those who evidently as yet cannot see the difference that one cannot use the ethics of resistance to a tyrant as an excuse to condone the unscrupulous activities of bands of terrorists operating in a State governed by the rule of law and where people enjoy unparallelled freedom of action.

Whether the intention was merely to kidnap Ponto, and his death an unforeseen consequence, the fact remains that this was a dreadful crime, and one that must alarm all.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 August 1977)

Life imprisonment for embassy attackers

The Düsseldorf State High court has sentenced the four surviving terrorists who attacked the German embassy in Stockholm on 24 April 1975 to life imprisonment.

The counts on which they were sentenced were: murder in two cases, taking hostages and coercion. The accused are: Lutz Manfred Taufer, a 32 year old student from Karlsruhe, Karl-Heinz Dellwo, 25, an unskilled labourer from Opladen, Bernhard Maria Rössner, 30, a repro-photographer from Munich and Hanna Elise Krabbe, 31, a student from Bentheim.

The sentence does not yet have full legal force. The defence will probably appeal to the Bundesgerichtshof (Federal Supreme Court.)

The terrorists occupied the embassy for twelve hours and shot two embassy officials. An explosion just before midnight sent the embassy building up in flames and put an end to this attack by left-wing extremists of the "Baader-Meinhof successor organisation."

About fifteen people in the public gallery as well as the accused attempted to disrupt the proceedings — "Listen, Müller, we're not going to take any more of this rubbish." The court first warned them and when they continued the four accused were led away and the protestors ejected.

The presiding judge, Josef-Hermann Müller, explained that the terrorists were originally six in number. The two others, Hausner and Wessel died as a result of injuries sustained in the explosion.

They came together in 1974 after Ulrike Meinhof, Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader had been arrested. Their intention was to continue the armed struggle against the German system of society. Their declared aim was revolution.

In the court's opinion the terrorists had planned their attack carefully. In the arrogant assumption of their complete power they had made themselves lords over the life and death of embassy officials.

The shooting of embassy officials von Mirbach and Hillegard was evidence of a terrifying coldness and ruthlessness. Judge Müller said that the accused could not claim that their acts were covered by international war law.

In the first place they were not subjects of international law and secondly they were not combatants. International war law also expressly forbade the taking of hostages.

The most crucial question in this trial was who caused the explosion. The accused admitted the other charges, but denied responsibility for the explosion.

The presiding judge conceded that it had not been possible to establish what had caused the explosion. On the other hand it had become clear in the course of the proceedings that the detonation had not been caused by a third party, and certainly not by German or Swedish police.

Judge Müller said that nobody could possibly have got into the building after 3p.m. as the embassy had been surrounded by Swedish police.

There were, therefore, three possible explanations for the premature detonation of the bomb: carelessness on the accused's part, carelessness on the hostages' part, or a technical defect in the equipment. All traces and evidence which might have been destroyed in the fire, so that it was impossible to state with any certainty what had caused the explosion.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 July 1977)

■ EEC

Spectre of protectionism alarms Common Market chiefs

The EEC Commission in Brussels recently took a spectacular step towards a protectionist foreign trade policy. Textile imports from Spain and eight developing countries are to be drastically curtailed in the second half of this year.

The Commission saw itself "forced" to arrive at this decision — this has been confirmed by unofficial circles in Brussels — because last June Paris imposed unilateral and illegal national import barriers for the abovementioned nine countries.

The Commission lacked the courage to take a stand against this violation of the EEC Treaty. Instead, the Community absorbed some of the domestic pressure in France by imposing "communal" import restrictions.

Of course, the EEC import restrictions are less stringent than those originally imposed by France.

Based on the protection clause in Article 19 of GATT, the EEC is entitled to impose restrictions in case of an emergency. And for some this state of emergency evidently seems to exist since the Community's own 1976 textile production failed to reach the level of the pre-crisis year 1973.

A total of 3,500 textile companies were forced to shut down between 1973 and 1976, and this entailed the loss of 500,000 jobs — primarily in economically weak regions.

It is however known that Washington disapproves of the Commission's latest measure because the American Government itself is fighting with its back to the wall against protectionist trends in the United States.

Washington has a hard time preventing US court rulings by which local steel mills and other branches of industry would like to impose additional customs levies on imports from EEC countries.

The whole thing has been triggered by the Community's practice of reimbursing VAT to exporters. According to US industry this is an impermissible subsidy for exports, and US courts tend to agree on the basis of the Trade Act dating back to the last century.

The recent measure will also tarnish the Community's image in the Third World.

Since the introduction by the Nine of the General Trade Preferences for Developing Nations in 1971 (the EEC was thus the first major industrial power to do so) in order to promote industrialisation in the Third World by facilitating its exports to Europe's mammoth market, the Community has been held in high esteem.

This esteem was even heightened by the Community's cooperation agreements with the Arab countries along the Mediterranean seaboard and by the Lomé Convention encompassing 44 African, Pacific and Caribbean states.

The EEC was thus prepared to throw its market wide open while at the same time gaining export orders by helping to industrialise the Third World. At that time France was one of the strongest proponents of such a policy.

But now there is a trend towards protectionism in France which — like any fad — could very well be emulated by the Community's other members.

According to M. Ceyrac, the president of the French Employers' Association (CNPF), major changes in the global economy have rendered the dogma of free trade obsolete.

And although the demand for protectionism has not yet been voiced openly, there is nevertheless talk in Paris of building up defences against "wildcat imports", and some branches of industry in other EEC countries support this trend.

The French Association of Cellulose, Paper and Cardboard Industry (CEPAC) recently demanded "temporary protective measures" for Europe's paper industry both internally and externally.

The recommendation goes on to say that the Tokyo Round of GATT should strive to preserve the present high standard of free trade rather than concern itself with the further removal of trade barriers.

But whenever the other European members of the same branch of industry fail to pay sufficient heed to French wishes they resort to more stringent measures.

Jacques Ferry, the spokesman of France's steel industry, for instance, is dissatisfied with last spring's EEC Commission measures aimed at controlling prices and quotas on the EEC steel market.

As a result he quite openly threatens the Commission, saying that France has national imperatives — and that not only in the sectors of investment, growth, prices and jobs, but also in foreign trade relations. And this cannot but hit an exposed nerve of the EEC Tariff Union.

Prime Minister Raymond Barre, formerly an EEC Commissioner, issued a warning to the hotheads. He pointed out that France, as the world's fourth largest export nation, could not contemplate abolishing its policy of open borders.

This warning was issued only a few days before Paris decided to go it alone. The EEC Commission was thus forced to point out to its former member, M. Barre, that only the EEC as a whole rather than an individual member state can resort to Article 19 of GATT.

Protests were also raised by the German Textile Manufacturers' Association — not against the French protectionist tendencies as such, but because France has anticipated joint trade policy measures of the EEC, thus once more distorting internal competition structures within the Community.

France's objective are best demonstrated by the list of demands which the Gaullists in the Parliament of Europe recently presented.

These demands encompass among other things additional tariffs for imports from low-wage countries in order to prevent "social dumping", automatic application of GATT's protective clause whenever imports of certain goods capture too large a share of the EEC market, certificates of origin for the Community market as well, and complete redrafting of the EEC Commission's negotiating authority at the Tokyo Round of Gatt which is to reach its decisive phase in the autumn.

Moreover, the Gaullists point out that "unless swift and fundamental decisions" are made France would have to resort to national measures. The majority of the Parliament of Europe still refuses to deal with the Gaullist motion.

Under pressure from French business and the trade unions, President Giscard d'Estaing only reluctantly approved of the avowal of the seven heads of government at the London Summit in May in which they said: "We reject protectionism because it would promote unemployment, increase inflation and undermine the affluence of our peoples."

But even so, Giscard d'Estaing, managed to get the following sentence included in the communiqué: "Structural changes in the world's economy must be taken into account."

At the EEC round in London at the end of June Giscard d'Estaing originally fought for a more clear departure from the free trade principle.

But all that remained in the communiqué was a passage aimed at the Gaullists, showing that he hat at least tried to bring about more protectionism. The passage reads: "The Council of Europe has also dealt with the effects on the employment situation of the free trade policy of the Community as the world's largest importer and exporter."

The other EEC countries are not yet overtly prepared to follow the French trend towards protectionism. But the Brussels Commission is very well aware of the danger that would arise if Paris were to violate Community regulations more and more frequently in order to let off steam prior to next spring's elections.

Brussels has for some time been pondering the effects of a free trade policy. As the world's largest exporter, the EEC must beware of providing other countries — above all other industrialised nations, the free trade partners in EFTA and the United States, Canada and Japan — with a pretext for protectionist measures on their part.

As a result, the OECD has pledged annually since 1974 that it would preserve free trade — although GATT and numerous other agreements oblige it to do so anyway.

The recession is responsible for the danger of reverting to the protectionism of the thirties, as an EEC official put it.

In talks with Tokyo, the greatest competitor among the exporting industrialised nations, Washington and Brussels have been trying to confine the problem by talking Japan into voluntarily restricting its exports. This is in fact protectionism by other means.

The Multi-Fibre Textile Agreement, which is due to be renewed now within the framework of GATT, amounts to the same thing.

Essentially, EEC textile imports from the Mediterranean countries have risen so steeply, because the Far Eastern and other textile producing countries had had to put the brakes on their export expansion due to bilateral treaties within the framework of the Multi-Fibre Agreement.

France's astute EEC Trade Commissioner, Claude Cheysson, is well aware of the fact that the EEC cannot afford to create the impression in the Third World that it is closing its doors. After all, 36 per cent of the Community's exports go to developing nations — which is three times as much as the EEC sells to the United States — and the trend is still rising, argues M Cheysson.

As a result, M Cheysson does not want to reduce the general trade preferences for the developing nations, although he wants to shift the advantages.

In the new round of multi-fibre negotiations which have just begun, Brussels is pressing for a stop to further increases of preferences for the traditional textile exporting countries and for an increase of quotas for other developing nations.

According to M Cheysson, the EEC should also generously participate in a financial "Marshall Plan" for the Third World. But such funds should *not* be used to build up additional *export industries*. Instead, they should promote measures that would boost the domestic markets of the countries concerned.

Many branches of industry in the EEC would thus receive a shot in the arm by additional demand from the developing nations. This would affect primarily mechanical engineering, the steel industry and many of their suppliers.

Given swift action, the impetus imparted by orders from the Third World would be the best means of alleviating protectionist trends, said M Cheysson.

At the same time, Brussels is now trying to make better use of its own funds. Instead of pouring out money in its regional policy — and the same applies for the EEC Social Fund — programmes for structural changes are to receive priority in the future.

Where jobs in the textile or the steel industry are in jeopardy, investments made in good time are to promote other branches of industry.

But all these plans will come too late if the latest protectionist measure of the Commission triggers a chain reaction.

The accusation that planning should have started earlier can be levelled at the individual EEC governments as much as it can be levelled at Brussels.

In 1974 it was hoped that the upswing would come towards the end of 1975, and in 1976 hopes were pinned on 1977. Alas the faith in the recuperative market powers was too great.

Unless business takes an energetic stand against those in its own ranks who call for protectionism, it will soon be faced with the end of its freedom.

But first of all it must be decided who is to stop the French. If Paris resorts to protectionist measures in a number of other instances, Britain is likely to follow suit; and a chain reaction will be inevitable.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 July 1977)

CRISIS SYMPTOMS

	1973	1974	1975	1976	May 1977
Unemployment in EEC in per cent	2.5	2.9	4.4	5.0	5.1
Inflation rate; increase in consumer price index over previous year.	8.2	13.0	13.4	11.0	
Balance of trade deficit (EEC as a whole vis-a-vis foreign countries in million dollars)	4,592	20,549	4,504	19,476	

Unemployment in per cent
USA: 1970—1974: 5.6 1975: 8.5 1976: 7.7
Japan: 1970—1974: 1.3 1975: 1.9 1976: 2.0

■ ECONOMICS

Strong deutschmark plus weak dollar threatens Euro-exports



Parisians were reminded of the German occupation during the war when the French newspaper *Le Nouveau Journal* came up with a novelty in the form of the German-language headline "Deutsche Mark über alles". The headline was intended to pay tribute to the currency of the former arch-enemy and today's partner in the EEC of the *Grande Nation*.

In Paris the star currency cost 213 francs for 100 deutschmarks or — to put it the other way around — 100 francs cost the German only DM46.95. Never before had the French franc dropped to such a low level vis-a-vis the deutschmark.

But not only on the Continent was the deutschmark the star of the season. Michael Blumenthal, the German-descent US Secretary of the Treasury, has for some time been dissatisfied with Bonn's economic policy.

Contrary to the agreement to pursue a course of stability which the seven heads of state and government reached at the London Summit in May, Mr Blumenthal persuaded his fellow ministers of the OECD to exert pressure on the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Holland and Switzerland to induce them to pursue a more active economic policy.

In an interview with *Handelsblatt*, Mr Blumenthal said that "the last months have shown that some countries — and not only the Federal Republic of Germany — are lagging behind their growth targets."

On the eve of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit to Jimmy Carter, Mr Blumenthal let it be known in New York that the White House would promote an even further weakening of the dollar vis-a-vis the strong deutschmark. The already weak dollar was perfectly in keeping with the American concept.

Mr Blumenthal and his economic strategists hoped that a cheaper dollar would make American goods more competitive on world markets — at the expense of the deutschmark.

The US Secretary of the Treasury fears that 1977 will see his country with a trade deficit of DM25,000 million, which he hopes to reduce by stepped-up exports. He reprovingly points to the fact that the suspected 12,000 million dollar deficit in the US balance of payments is matched by an equally high surplus for the German, Japanese, Dutch and Swiss.

The foreign exchange markets on both sides of the Atlantic reacted to the signal from Washington. A world-wide flight from the dollar into the deutschmark set in. The Bundesbank (this country's Central Bank) did all in its power to prevent or at least put the brakes on a further downward slide of the dollar.

But there was no stopping the fall. On 13 July, the day when Chancellor Schmidt arrived at the White House, the dollar dropped to DM2.2793 in Frankfurt. And on 19 July it reached a startling low of DM2.2628 — even below the then all-time low of DM2.2785 of 5 March 1975.

The Central Banks in Frankfurt and Zurich are seriously worried about a new flood of dollars since the influx of dollars into the Federal Republic of Germany and into Switzerland undermines the stability policy of those countries.

Moreover, the rising exchange rates of the deutschmark and the Swiss franc constitute a threat to the export business of the two countries.

In a concerted action between Frankfurt and Zurich, the two Central Banks therefore decided to reduce interest rates as a deterrent to dollar investments.

Frankfurt set the Lombard rate at 4 per cent. This means — and this is most unusual — that the Lombard rate is now half a per cent above the discount rate. The Swiss Central Bank even went so far as to reduce the discount rate to 1.5 per cent, which is the lowest level in the Western world.

Notwithstanding dollar purchases by the Bundesbank to the tune of 200 million dollars within a few days, it was unable to halt the downward trend which poses a considerable threat to German exports and this country's economy as a whole.

Since the European Snake currencies — apart from the deutschmark, the Dutch guilder, the Belgian franc and the three Scandinavian kroners — are only permitted to fluctuate by 2.25 per cent in relation to each other, the higher deutschmark value has pulled up the other Snake currencies as well.

This might be welcome to the Americans since it would help boost their business with Europe, but it creates new problems for Germany and its partner countries by making their exports more expensive.

Helmut Schmidt was well prepared for his meeting with President Carter and US Secretary of the Treasury Blumenthal. He countered Mr Blumenthal's accusations that Bonn was not doing enough for the world economy and that it was not doing justice to its responsibility as a surplus country by pointing out that the deutschmark has risen by an average of 17 per cent in the past 18 months.

In actual fact, according to Bundesbank calculations the deutschmark value vis-a-vis the dollar has risen by 14.6 per cent since the end of 1975, vis-a-vis the Snake currencies by 4.8 per cent and on a global scale by 18.6 per cent.

Confronted with realities, Mr Blumenthal agreed in an impromptu discussion with Chancellor Schmidt to take this contribution on the part of Germany into account.

But the international foreign exchange markets evidently have little faith in this truce between Blumenthal and Schmidt.

Although the dollar made a slight recovery following Chancellor Schmidt's talks at the White House, considerable importance is attributed to a statement by Wilfried Guth, spokesman of Deutsche Bank, according to whom Washington is building up a new line of resistance for the dollar.

In Herr Guth's opinion, this line of resistance could be set at DM2.25 per dollar — which is lower than the official dollar rate on foreign exchange markets ever and lower than the dollar was immediately after the Washington talks.

The fact that not only the major trading nations are using monetary policy as an instrument with which to stimulate exports and the economy as a whole was recently borne out by Spain.

In order to cope with its economic problems, the Spanish Government devalued the peseta vis-a-vis the US dollar by 19.9 per cent. On the German foreign exchange markets the peseta, which is not part of the Snake and floats freely, was traded at the devalued rate of somewhat over 20 per cent.

The economic policy makers in Madrid, however, could easily forfeit the advantages of the devaluation to Spanish exports unless they introduce stringent domestic measures aimed at price stability. For a country as dependent on raw materials imports as Spain, the higher cost of imports could easily trigger new inflationary trends.

Spain as an El Dorado for German vacationers ss a result of the peseta devaluation could easily prove a mirage. Although nominally (figured by prices prior to the devaluation) one deutschmark is worth DM1.34 in Spain, vacationers report a lightning reaction on the part of clever hoteliers and restaurant owners. Some hotels and restaurants are said to have raised their prices by close to 20 per cent.

The promised cheap winter vacation in the Canaries or the cheap summer vacation in Mallorca, promised to German tourists for 1978, could come to nought as the result of inflation.

Dietrich Zwätz

(Deutsche Zeitung, 22 July 1977)

Four per cent growth rate likely this year

Professor Olaf Sievert, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, considers a slight acceleration of the upswing in the second half of 1977 likely.

In an interview with *dpa* he stressed that, following a probable growth of a mere 3.5 per cent ofer the previous year in the first half of 1977, production is likely to increase by about 4.5 per cent in the second half of the year, "making it realistic to anticipate an overall growth of 4 per cent for 1977 as a whole."

Although Professor Sievert, too, is disappointed about this year's economic development, there is nevertheless no spectacular departure from last year's forecast for 1977. The Council of Economic Advisers had originally anticipated a 4.5 per cent growth for 1977.

Professor Sievert called on our financial policy makers to display more courage in implementing economic booster measures.

According to him, the major problem is still the unsatisfactory investment ac-

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tivity on the part of business. Although business has stepped up its investments, this is not yet enough to provide an adequate shot in the arm and falls considerably short of the investment necessary to create the many jobs that will be needed in the next few years.

According to Professor Sievert the measures implemented so far by Bonn and the individual states are not enough of a stimulus for private investment.

The DM16,000 million programme for future investments will initially do little to change the present employment situation. The tax package which has meanwhile been passed is, according to Professor Sievert, a "small step towards a more growth-oriented taxation system."

Professor Sievert again called for better depreciation write-offs.

In order to reduce unemployment, economic policy should strive for a 5 per cent growth target in 1978. Unfortunately, says Professor Sievert, the necessary preconditions for such a growth rate have not yet been created. *dpa*

(Die Welt, 20 July 1977)

Friderichs calls for an expert review of the economy

Minister of Economic Affairs Hans Friderichs has asked the Council of Economic Advisers to review a number of economic and labour market policy problems.

The focal point of Herr Friderichs' request is the question whether further economic booster measures are necessary. At the same time, Herr Friderichs would like to have the labour market measures aimed at providing new jobs, which are at present under discussion, reviewed.

It is considered possible in Bonn that the Council will deal with these questions in the form of a special study to be released in the autumn rather than in its annual report due in November.

A total of eight issues have been put up for discussion by Herr Friderichs. Above all, however, he would like to know why the actual development of the economy and the labour market in 1977 is not in keeping with the Council's forecast and how the so-called "Five Wise Men" assess the development on the labour market for the rest of the year.

Moreover, Herr Friderichs' letter calls for an answer to the question which of the publicly discussed measures, primarily for

- the creation of additional jobs,
- the establishment of a balance between the supply of and demand for labour,
- the reduction of available labour,
- improvements in the labour exchange and
- increased individual incentives to take up work, are considered particularly suited to cope with unemployment in the short term.

Herr Friderichs would also like to know the reasons for the reticence of business where investments are concerned. In this connection he would like the Council to examine the question as to the extent to which the energy and environment discussion has affected investment attitudes.

Concerning fiscal matters, the Five Wise Men have been asked to examine whether the turnover tax reform will have a positive effect on the investment attitudes of certain regional corporations.

Peter J. Velte

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 22 July 1977)

■ MOTORING

Psychological tests can help errant drivers keep their licences

German driving licences are not endorsed. Offences penalised with a fine of more than forty deutschmarks are reported to a central registry office in Flensburg where drivers are awarded black marks in accordance with the seriousness of the offence.

Eighteen penalty points in Flensburg mean an automatic driving ban regardless whether you have notched up seven black marks at a time for hit-and-run driving or being drunk in charge of a motor vehicle or, somewhat unfairly as most motorists would feel, have merely accumulated occasional black marks as a result of radar speed checks.

The "black marks" system has only been in operation in its present form for a few years and already there are hundreds of thousands of motorists on the borderline of a driving ban.

Their black marks are expunged from the registry if they manage to maintain a clean record for two uninterrupted years, but two years is a long time to remain on tenterhooks, especially if you drive for a living.

So ways and means of making the scheme a little more flexible are frequently suggested, and one of the methods already in use is a medical and psychological test to help the authorities decide whether or not an offender really deserves to forfeit his licence.

"We are not a bunch of sadists who descend on unsuspecting motorists like vultures, you know," says psychiatrist and neurologist Rudolf Gienapp, head of the *TÜV* Medico-Psychological Institute in Hamburg, which conducts tests of this kind.

Dr Gienapp is keen to explain how his institute works, but sensitive to the criticism not infrequently levelled by irate motorists. His customers are, of course, mostly motorists referred for a medical and psychological check after a brush or two with the law.

They may have accumulated the ominous eighteen black marks at Flensburg. Occasionally, however, they are seventeen-year-olds who apply for a driving licence early for one reason or another. If they pass the test they may be allowed to take the conventional driving test about which nothing more need be said.

Whatever the reason, people taking a test of this kind obviously feel somewhat uneasy. "We are obviously well aware of the fact," says Dr Gienapp, "and the series of tests to which we submit people referred to us can take up to five hours, which is undeniably a fair length of time.

"But we do not aim to make mincewield an executioner's axe. We are merely required to submit an expert opinion. It is up to the authorities to decide what action to take."

Last year *97,310* medical and psychological reports were commissioned by licensing authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany from Dr Gienapp and his associates in Hamburg and similar institutes in other parts of the country. Roughly half this total were motorists with a traffic offence record in the Flensburg files, and 28,000 had been brought to book for drunken driving.

"When someone commits a really serious traffic offence or appears to be a persistent offender," Dr Gienapp points out, "it seems fair to assume that he or she might not be cut out for driving a motor vehicle.

"But we do not aim to make mincemeat of our customers. After all, there could have been good and valid reasons why they were driving under the influence of drink. They may have felt obliged to take to the wheel in exceptional circumstances even though they were unlikely to pass the breathalyser test."

Qualified medical practitioners and psychologists conduct the tests. The medics test physical functions such as reflexes. They take the examinee's blood pressure in specified stress situations.

The psychologists, on the other hand, set out to determine whether or not the examinee is willing and able to behave in a suitable manner at the wheel of a motor vehicle..

"Let us assume," says Dr Gienapp, "that the examinee is a managing director. His reflexes are first-rate and his IQ is above average. Yet he may still be a menace on the roads because he invariably feels he is a cut above other road-users and drives dangerously.

"This is the kind of motorist who is personally convinced that he always has the right of way He belongs to the category of *unwilling* motorists — and there are plenty of them about."

Persistent offenders cause the most trouble both at Dr Gienapp's institute in Hamburg and at other medical and psychological centres around the country (there is at least one in every state).

A distinction is made between offences committed "under the influence" and offences committed when the miscreant is stone-cold sober.

Offenders who have notched up their eighteen black marks in Flensburg by no means invariably have a record of drunken or hit-and-run driving, which can mean up to seven black marks at one fell swoop. Often enough seemingly minor offences just accumulate.

Take, for instance, the motorist who lets his engine warm up every morning by stepping on the accelerator pedal for minutes on end. Sooner or later his neighbours report him to the police for making unnecessary noise.

This is an offence that counts for more than a mere parking ticket. It means a black mark in his Flensburg file. So does opening his car door carelessly and endangering another road-user. So may a tell-tale trail of foul exhaust fumes if the offender is brought to book.

Helga Heimann, a psychologist who is deputy head of the Hamburg institute, is mainly concerned with the form questions may take.

"We used to work on the assumption that an examinee with eighteen black marks in Flensburg deserved to forfeit his licence and that we were merely required to confirm his or her unsuitability to hold a driving licence, as it were," Frau Heimann explains.

"Nowadays reports are increasingly commissioned because the authorities themselves are far from convinced that each and every motorist with eighteen points in his Flensburg file is fundamentally not cut out to drive a motor vehicle."

The psychological question and answer session is an important part of the full test. The Hamburg institute made tabloid newspaper headlines when it was reported to fail any examinee who answered in the affirmative when asked whether he or she enjoyed porn.

"Sex queries form no part of either written or verbal queries as far as we are concerned," Rudolf Gienapp claims, "except, say, in cases where the examinee is a sex offender who uses his car on the job, as it were. But this is very rarely the case."

Alcohol puts in a far more frequent appearance. A conviction for drunken driving means seven black marks. A subsequent conviction within two years makes an automatic driving ban a virtual certainty regardless whether or not the court may decide to impose a ban..

Women drivers appear to be more careful than men. Far fewer women drivers than men have a Flensburg "record" even in relation to the respective number of male and female licence-holders.

"Women are more careful and cooperative in traffic," Dr Gienapp claims. "But when women overstep the mark they usually do so with a vengeance, not just taking the highway code into their own hands, so to speak, but also in drinking one over the eight."

The Flensburg record office employs a staff of 11,050, including 250 clerks in the traffic offences department who service the files of 4.6 million motorists with a record of traffic offences.

The medical and psychological test costs the examinee a maximum of 250 deutschmarks plus VAT. A sight test may also be required. It costs 96 deutschmarks.

"It is not much when you consider what medical practitioners normally charge for services of this kind," says Dr Gienapp. "What is more, the charges do not cover expenses by any stretch of the imagination.

"Opinions may differ about details of the form tests take, but I do feel the test is necessary, particularly for young people who have notched up eighteen black marks and feel hard done by."

But traffic offenders account for only half the "customers" referred to Dr Gienapp and his associates year by year.

There is, for instance, the seventeen-year-old son of a haulage contractor who applies for a driving licence because his father has suddenly died.

The Bundeswehr commissions reports on driving instructors, and in Hamburg, taxi and bus drivers are also put through their paces at the institute. So are learner-drivers who have failed the conventional driving-test three times.

"There can be any number of reasons why learner-drivers fail to make the grade," Rudolf Gienapp says. "We try to find out why — and whether it is worth their while trying for a fourth time."

The reasons can be trifling; a learner may just not be able to stand the sight of his driving instructor. The instructor may, for that matter, be a dismal teacher.

But Rudolf Gienapp refuses to be drawn on the prowess of driving instructors. "They are not referred to us," he says, "unless a special request is submitted by their association. But this has yet to happen in Hamburg, so we are not in a position to give a considered opinion on the subject."

Gerhard Seehase

(Die Zeit, 29 July 1977)

LANGUAGE

Linguists' congress discusses problems of dialect speakers for the first time

One of the most neglected areas of German linguistics has hitherto been the study of dialect and the communications problems with which dialect speakers are confronted.

Although studies about the pronunciation of the "u" and the "o" in specific regions, which eventually provided insights into the distribution of specific sounds in any given area, are not new, they remained superficial and descriptive within the framework of a linguistic science that was an end in itself.

But new attempts aimed at a social and communicative "dialectology" which at last centre around the problems of dialect speakers in society (the dialect speaker having always served as an example of special linguistic forms) now point to a change of attitude in linguistics.

The fact that this gratifying occupation with the practical problems of dialect is still unknown territory for dialectologists was borne out by a symposium on the subject "Dialect and School" which was organised by *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (German Language Atlas), Marburg, to celebrate the society's 100th anniversary.

Scholars of the Germanic languages from the Federal Republic of Germany and the other German-speaking countries discussed the problems of dialect speakers for the first time.

The 250 or so participants (mostly teachers) who were welcomed by the director of *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, Professor Reiner Hildebrandt, had no doubt as to the fact that dialect speakers are at a disadvantage and indeed discriminated against in a society whose communications system orients itself by the standard language.

The difficulties for dialect speakers result from their regionally limited language on the one hand and from socio-psychological discrimination. In other words, certain social positions are closed to the dialect speaker.

Although in the German-speaking world standard language and dialect are related and historically linked, the sole use of dialect hampers and in some instances prevents communication.

The Bavarian's lack of understanding for, say, the Frisian is only partly due to his antipathy to all non-Bavarians. The more important reason lies in the entirely different dialects.

The multitude of dialects which still exist in this country shows that the standard language as the relevant communications instrument in society has failed to gain the upper hand — both in regional terms and in terms of social class.

But the participants in the Marburg symposium were also agreed that there was no way of circumventing the necessity of mastering the standard language.

And even the fact that dialect has been rediscovered in songs and literature as the language of protest against established society cannot change this. Social development cannot forgo a uniform language, spoken and understood by all.

The fact that socio-linguistic discussion has only now (again) arrived at this trite thesis is largely due to a disorientation phase that lasted for several years — as for instance when the educational framework guidelines for German made the learning of a standard language oriented by the pupil's dialect the objective of teaching this subject.

At that time it was considered outright reactionary to adhere to the standard language — the reason for this being a mistaken interpretation of progressiveness.

This was a disservice to pupils — especially in view of the fact that special rules made it more difficult for them to learn how to spell due to the differences between the sounds of the colloquial and the written language which could not be reconciled in a uniform system of rules.

Heinrich Löffler, the Basle professor of German Studies and editor of the *Sprachhefte für den Deutschunterricht* (notebooks for German lessons) in which dialect and standard language are compared with each other, came up with a common denominator for the problem, saying that dialect is unsuitable for written expression.

The dialect speaker's orientation by a standard language which is influenced by dialect leads to a situation whereby the written standard language with which he is confronted everywhere remains alien to him and indeed becomes more and more so, eventually assuming the character of a foreign language.

Wolfangang Viereck, professor of English and empirical socio-linguist, explained the difficulties which confront dialect speakers when attempting to learn a genuine foreign language.

The dialect speaker's basic difference from a child speaking standard German lies in the necessity of having to deal with three languages: the dialect as his mother tongue, the standard language as basis and the foreign language as the objective of his learning. It is obvious that such a pupil is at a disadvantage.

Moreover, dialect speakers must (virtually of necessity) fail in performance and intelligence tests at school — tests which are of paramount importance for the future career. Such tests are based on nonrrms of the standard language which the dialect speakers cannot meet.

Joachim Hasselberg quoted an example. Pupils are asked the meaning of the verb "to simulate". Among the several possible answers they are expected to tick off "to feign" which corresponds to the verb's meaning in standard German. But the Hesse dialect speaker cannot arrive at this answer because in his home language the verb means "to reflect or ponder".

There was relative consensus among the participants in the symposium that the dialect speaker is at a disadvantage in school and society, but the linguists gathered in Marburg could not reach agreement on a basic attitude and about ways and means of achieving a cure.

Ulrich Ammon of the Duisburg Comprehensive School, for instance, viewed dialect — polemically exaggerated — as an "arrogance of consciousness" and therefore called for its swift elimination.

Arguing along Marxist lines, he attributed the social disadvantage of the dialect speaker to his language which was in turn responsible for his "lacking participation in the means of production." According to Herr Ammon, this participation cannot be achieved as long as dialect fosters a pre-industrial work and life environment.

Volker Broweleit of the Lower Saxony Teachers' Training College in Oldenburg views the standard language as an instrument of repression with which the "haves" discriminate against and impose sanctions on the "have nots".

Herr Broweleit's statements left open the question which linguistic norms should be applied since he did not clearly reject the Hesse framework guidelines for German, whereby so-called colloquial language is to be taught, while on the other hand saying that the objective of German lessons should be the teaching of standard German both spoken and written.

It was clear from the very beginning that the Marburg symposium would not come up with patent cures for dialect speakers among pupils.

One of the organisers of the symposium, Dr Ulrich Knoop of *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, voiced regrets about the fact that the question whether dialect should be preserved or eliminated is being raised constantly.

Instead, he maintained, the objective should be to instill mastery of the standard language in all pupils and to lead the dialect-speaking child towards the standard language without impairing his personal integrity.

By delving into communicative dialectology, the Marburg symposium drew attention to an area that still leaves plenty for linguists to do — an area in which they can combine research work and social commitment.

Günther Voss

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 July 1977)

Race against time to record dying dialects

Work on the "German Language Atlas" began in Marburg 100 years ago. It was only then that linguists began to take the study of dialects seriously and to realise that they were in danger of dying out.

The Research Institute for the German Language which produces the Language Atlas is celebrating its anniversary at present. In its two main phases of development it has had the good fortune to complete its investigations just in time, before the information it required became unavailable.

Georg Wenker, the founder of the German Language Atlas, sent out questionnaires with his now famous 40 sentences to teachers in about 50,000 towns and villages in what was then the German Reich.

These sentences were meant to establish the phonetic structure of the dialects. The work was completed just before the great migration from the country to the new industrial areas began.

Wenker himself along with his colleagues took on the enormous task of mapping out the dialect areas. The scholars drew their maps meticulously, using up to thirty colours. The work did not go into print until the nineteen-twenties, after all the maps had been carefully revised.

The Reich financed the work, and so the first edition came to Berlin. The second remained in Marburg, gathering dust, along with a large number of unprinted maps.

Wenker's pupil Ferdinand Wrede carried on his master's work, producing even more detailed dialect maps divided up into minute regions.

His successor, Bernard Martin, changed the emphasis to in-depth analyses of certain areas and etymology. Wenker's questionnaire had shown that phonetic differences were not the only ones. There were also important vocabulary differences — with three different words, *Pferd*, *Ross*, and *Gaul*, for "horse".

Walter Mitzka, long-serving director of the Research Institute for German Language. German Language Atlas, — this is its official name — sent out questionnaires which were rather different from those used by Wenker sixty years before.

These questionnaires had 200 key words by means of which the vocabulary of all German speakers within the Reich frontiers and in the neighbouring countries could be recorded and analysed. These 200 key words were sent to almost 50,000 teachers.

In the war years 1939 to 1943 the Marburg linguist gathered together all the material which has now been put together and revised to form an almost complete 20 volume word atlas, with 210 word maps, each one in three parts.

This work gives an overall view of the vocabulary and usage of agricultural workers and craftsmen.

Prof. Reiner Hildebrandt, director of the Institute, considers that its most important immediate task is to record and analyse dialects in "peripheral areas", especially as time is running out.

Kurt Rein from Munich is working together with German-Rumanians on the Siebenburg dialect. A German now living in Australia is preparing a word map of the Odessa area based on his own material and Wenker's sentences.

A study of the linguistic geography and linguistic sociology of German dialects in Western Hungary appeared recently.

The first volume of a "Word Atlas of Germanx Colloquial Language" has been published in Berne. Written by a former Marburg Language Atlas man, it covers the GDR, Austria and Switzerland.

Hildebrandt is convinced that the old style of dialect research is passé. The vast movements of population after the war, the uburbanisation of the countryside, as well as the influence of the media, have all tended to blur dialect frontiers and have even undermined the use of dialect.

The new method which the Institute is using may therefore prove more fruitful. Random groups are asked whether or not they use dialect and if they do they are then recorded on tape. This gives a picture of the function and use of dialect today.

The Language Atlas workers use the latest research methods. Computer science, linguistic information theory and dialectology are used in the five departments, each headed by a university professor.

The Marburg Institute has also taken on a very important international piece of research. At the 1965 international congress of dialect experts the decision was taken to work out a joint European

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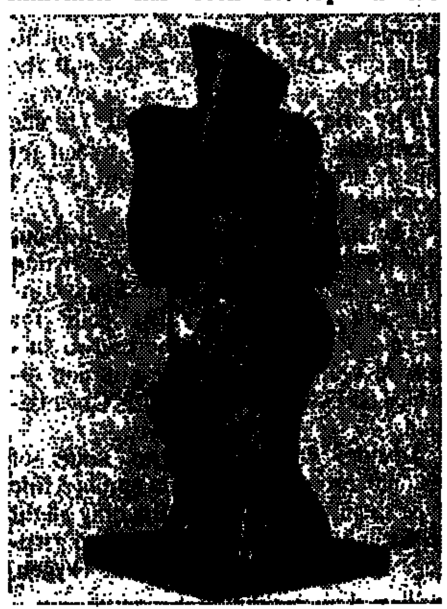
EXHIBITIONS

Münster shows how sculpture can blend with the landscape

A walk around the town of Münster is of special interest at the moment. Three giant billiard stone balls vie with the Aasee for the walker's admiration. And opposite St. Peter's Church one is confronted by three giant red-streaked, wedge-shaped rocks.

At every corner of the idyllic Schlossgarten, there are bronze, stone or metal objects, experiments with space and environment. For the space of a few months Münster has become a metropolis of contemporary sculpture.

All this at considerable expense. An exhibition has been set up in the



Israel Isaac Lipschitz' *Sailor with Guitar*

(Photos: Katalog)

Westphalian State Museum giving a survey of the development of abstract sculpture since Rodin.

A second exhibition, located mainly in the Schlossgarten, covers so-called autonomous sculpture, i.e. work conceived without a particular environment in mind. A third section, to which Claes Oldenburg's billiard balls belong, covers works which attempt to relate to a particular architectural or landscape environment.

Finally the exhibition includes a number of works purchased previously. This is probably the largest exhibition of sculpture in Germany since the war.

After walking around the various parts of the exhibition for several hours, one realises that the organisers have almost completely omitted one area: representational or graphic sculpture. Admittedly they do exhibit a Rodin torso, no doubt as a demonstration of a first step towards abstraction.

Picasso's *"Woman's Head"* (1909), Brâncusi's *"Sleeping Muse"* (1910) and Archipenko's *"Constructive Head"* (1913) are milestones along the way from representation to pure form.

But this is purely historical. There is no sign at the Münster exhibition that the tradition of representational sculpture lives on, a form of sculpture primarily concerned with depicting objects.

Although this omission is justifiable in view of the concept behind the exhibition, it nevertheless gives a false impression, particularly when one considers the size of the exhibition and its claim to be an investigation of the function of sculpture today.

The great merit of this exhibition is unquestionably its demonstration of the relation between sculpture and environment. Architects and town planners no longer have large spaces or total complexes at their disposal, and this is partly why this relation has become problematic.

The problem was not resolved when new possibilities arose from town restoration programmes and the new conception of entire suburbs. The unfortunate concept of "building art" derives from an interpretation which completely denies the conceptional importance of sculptural aspects in the architectural context.

There are in Münster a number of highly impressive demonstrations of how landscapes or building complexes can be given more life, excitement and expression if sculpture and environment relate harmoniously. Claes Oldenburg's billiard balls for example give the Aasee and the park landscape a completely new dimension.



Claes Oldenburg's *Giant Pool Balls*

If one stands right in front of the balls, the colourful movement of the boats behind them is like a scene in miniature. Im perspective, people and objects look like toys.

One gets a similar impression when one stands further back: the park, the lake and the balls merge to form a play landscape, a form independent of exigencies and functional necessities. Oldenburg's sculptures have a very powerful inspiring effect.

The non-representational "autonomous" sculpture standing in open country has quite a different effect. It relates only to itself. Mark di Suvero's *"Blue Arch for Matisse"*, made of partly painted steel buttresses, seems rather helpless.

The same applies to Norbert Kricke's *Grosse Münster"*, a thin pipe barely touching space which cannot hold its own against the architectural and natural masses surrounding it. An open-air sculpture without volume is a nonsense. Max Bill's *"Unendliche Schleife"*, which at least operates with rudiments of mass, is the furthest one can possibly go in this direction.

It is not so difficult for interior sculpture. Calder's mobiles or Naum Gabo's linear, net-like constructions, to name only two examples, really need the intimacy of a closed space. On the other hand it is incomprehensible that Henry Moore's work should be banished indoors. Moore of all people has always taken great pains to relate landscape and architecture to his work.

Moore's work is an encouraging illustration of the fact that the opposites of autonomous and situation-related sculpture, of representation and abstraction, of symbolic and formal art can be reconciled.

In Münster these old contrasts have been re-established. There is too much emphasis on an interpretation of art concerned with the analysis of parts of a process rather than with the whole.

Lothar Schmidt-Mühlisch

(Die Welt, 26 July 1977)

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language atlas covering every country from Portugal to the Urals. Among other things, experts hope to learn from this how languages interact and overlap across national frontiers.

First the languages are to be analysed by means of 500 basic words taken from word fields such as man, the body, feelings, morals, stars, weather, countryside, everyday objects, agriculture and trade. The Language Atlas Institute is collaborating on this project, with the support of the German Research Institute.

Gerda Neumann

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 16 July 1977)

Struwwelpeter gets a museum of his own

The Federal Republic of Germany's latest museum is devoted to the psychiatrist and author of *Struwwelpeter*, Heinrich Hoffmann. The museum, in Frankfurt, was opened by the author's great-grandson Kurt Hessenberg.

On exhibit are sketches, drawings, letters, photographs, documents and many personal items that belonged to the man whose book has been translated into virtually as many languages as the Bible.

Among the many items there are also rare *Struwwelpeter* editions from all parts of the world, among them a Russian *Struwwelpeter*, printed in St. Petersburg in 1867; *Struwwelpeters* in Esperanto, Afrikaans, Swiss-German, Latin, Hebrew and many other languages.

A special department of the museum is devoted to *Struwwelpeter* parodies, while another houses medical and historic documents.

Apart from the two great-grandchildren of Heinrich Hoffmann, Kurt and Else Hessenberg who presented the museum with Hoffmann's legacy, a great many German and foreign collectors placed valuable pieces at the museum's disposal.

The purpose of the museum is not only to commemorate the author of *Struwwelpeter* (1809 to 1894) who was in charge of the Frankfurt Lunatic Asylum from 1851 to 1889, but also to pay tribute to Hoffmann's many other achievements. He was the founder of many citizens' action campaigns for social, occupational and political commitment and was a member of the precursor of the German parliament in 1848.



Christian Schad's *Salut für Heinrich Hoffmann*

(Photo: Heinrich Hoffmann Museum)

But above all Hoffmann was a reformer of psychiatry who viewed psychiatry for children and the young as equal in importance to a humane care for other mentally ill fellow-citizens.

He founded the forerunner of today's Frankfurt Centre of Psychiatry, where he spent 25 years, living in a therapeutic community with his charges.

He also wrote poetry and ballads. His fame, however, he owes to the fact that he was unable to find a book for children and therefore decided to write and illustrate one himself. The result was *Struwwelpeter*.

The book which modern educationalists reject as "too authoritarian" and which children throughout the world love, was first published in 1845.

But the author of *Struwwelpeter* also wrote and illustrated other books such as *König Nussknacker und der arme Reinhold* (King Nutcracker and Poor Reinhold), *Bastian der Faulpelz* (Lazybones Bastian), *Prinz Perlenfein* (Prince Perlenfein) and *Im Himmel und auf Erden* (In Heaven and on Earth).

The International Heinrich Hoffmann Society was established simultaneously with the museum. According to a press release of the museum, the aim of the Society is to "preserve the cultural heritage, organise exhibitions, new editions and workshop discussions and to realise medical and social objectives by comprehensive integration of the mentally ill."

dpa

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 16 July 1977)

■ MEDICINE

Antibiotics no help against nose and throat infections, doctor tells congress

Professor Wolf Dietrich Germer of Berlin has described the practice, common among many doctors, of prescribing antibiotics for colds and influenza as "dangerous." This was the course recommended in numerous medical textbooks, but advances in medical science and particularly in diagnosis meant that it was now out of date.

Dr Germer, *speaking recently at the* 29th German congress for medical education, in Berlin, gave the following reason for his criticism: "Acute nose and throat infections are caused in 95 per cent of all cases by viruses." Antibiotica, however, were a completely useless method of combating viruses.

When nose and throat infections were caused by viruses, it was not just a matter of antibiotics not helping. In some cases the doctor would be damaging his patient's health by proscribing thom. These antibiotics could provoke allergies which in turn lead to a fatal shock-effect.

Furthermore, the use of antibiotics could lead to bacteria becoming resistant. In the event of the patient later suffering from an acute bacterial infection, these antibiotics would not have the desired therapeutic effect.

It was now possible to diagnose infections of nose and throat caused by viruses by using the so-called immunofluorescence method. Dr Germer described this as the "decisive diagnostic breakthrough of the past few years."

He called on doctors to use this method in future whenever they came across cases of coughing, hoarseness and nose-colds. This would mean sending throat smears and phlegm for analysis. Most large German towns had virus laboratories where this kind of analysis could be done.

Dr. Walter Höpken of Hannover stressed that nose and throat infections were "by far the most common infections." He thought it was an oversimplification simply to talk of "colds" in this context when what was meant was a whole range of illnesses from influenza to pneumonia and bronchitis.

A third of all working days lost through illness and two thirds to three quarters of all absences from school were the result of these illnesses. This fact at the same time made it clear that children were more susceptible to these illnesses. Even among adults, though, one person in every five went to the doctor every year with an infection of *this kind.*

There are always difficulties involved in treating viral nose and throat infections, as Dr Germer and his Karlsruhe colleague Professor Oskar Vivell pointed out. There was still no medicine which could kill all kinds of viruses.

Interferon, a substance which the body itself produces to fight viruses, had not yet lived up to the hopes which had been put in it. This was because obtaining this substance and using it on a large scale was still prohibitively expensive.

Nonetheless both doctors pointed out that there was a possibility of preventing and treating a number of viral infections. Anti-influenza injections had proved successful.

Chemical means of treating illnesses caused by herpes viruses had been developed, and other viruses could be trated immunologically, i.e., by giving bloood serum from people who were immune to the viruses. All this helped to prevent the worst.

Tuberculosis, previously so rampant especially in times of hardship, was still a grave danger, as doctors found out in another series of lectures at the congress.

This is still the most common of all infectious diseases which have to be reported in Germany. This point was made by Professor Karl L. Radenbach of the Heckeshorn lung clinic in Berlin.

He also warned of the danger that this disease "could be too easily forgotten and not recognised in time, as most doctors seldom encounter a case of tuberculosis these days."

The consequence of this was, in the words of Professor Gerhard Neumann of the Stuttgart Health Office, that "wrong diagnoses happen more frequently."

He did not believe that tuberculosis could be eradicated in the foreseeable future. The reason: "The practical successes of the basically highly effective chemo-therapy still lag far behind what is theoretically possible."

Lung x-rays have for some time been an inadequate method of discovering tuberculosis.

In the words of Dr. Hans Joachim Brandt of Berlin "this realisation means that we must intensify our search for tubercular bacteria, right from the beginning of chemo-therapy. We will also have to be more aggressive in our methods and use endoscopy and biopsy," i.e. taking live tissue from the lungs.

It could only be proved that a patient had tuberculosis after a biopsy had been performed. Even this method was frequently misleading and the only sure way of establishing this was to make tubercules grow on a patient's cell culture. Radenbach therefore warned general practioners to be very careful when diagnosing potential T.B. cases.

If the patient were subjected to treatment on the mere suspicion that he might have tuberculosis this could have a serious effect on the patient's health in view of the nine-to-twelve-month, highly controversial antibiotic therapy.

Professor Heinrich Jungblut of Giessen mentioned allergic reactions, damage to the liver, stomach and intestinal disorders and disorders of the central nervous system of the brain as possible consequences of treatment.

Dr Hans Hussels of Berlin stressed that it was essential to establish before treatment began whether the bacteria could be killed by one of the three antibiotics normally used. It was also important to determine whether the patient was allergic to these antibiotics.

The number of antibiotics which could be used is extremely high. Nonetheless, tubercular and other bacteria were becoming more and more resistant to certain antibiotics. In other words they were not an effective means of treating these illnesses.

Although he did not want to dramatise matters among his colleagues, Professor Heinrich Herzog of Basle University felt obliged to tell his colleagues that they had a duty to their patients to watch for the early stages of chronic bronchitis and to use every means to prevent it. He made this point in the course of a clinical demonstration and television projection in the auditorium.

It was in his opinion often the fault of doctors that patients had to suffer from this serious and dangerous illness. He said they could decide for themselves what was worse: lung cancer or chronic bronchitis.

According to Dr Herzog the incidence of lung cancer and of chronic bronchitis is increasing. There was one cause common to both — smoking. The statistical curves of both illnesses and of cigarette turnover ran parallel.

Air pollution at work and the increasing pollution of the environment by chemicals were a contributory factor in illnesses. But it was evident that cigarette smoking made the situation worse. Every second smoker over forty suffered from chronic bronchitis whereas among non-smokers in the same age-group the figure was one in six.

Chronic bronchitis was more likely to occur if the patient had frequently suffered from throat and nose infections, if there was inborn immunity weakness or disorders in the composition of bronchial mucus. Defects in secretion and the natural ageing process were also factors.

Five times more men get chronic bronchitis than women. The reason for this is not yet known, but it might be a result of hormonal factors.

The Basle lung specialist pointed out that a patient can be said to be suffering from chronic bronchitis if he had coughing and expectoration fits daily for three months in the course of two successive years. This was the criterion established by the World Health Organisation.

Doctors encountered two kinds of chronic bronchitics — the emphysemic type gasping for breath with only slight expectoration and the cyanose type gasping and suffering from lack of oxygen, with a long history of coughing and a lot of expectoration.

This did not, however, mean any difference in treatment. Dr Herzog suggested the following method: first, the elimination of damaging influences, in particular cigarette smoking; freeing the lungs of bronchial mucus by inhalation, touching the chest with the chin, breathing exercises and the use of medicines to reduce swelling of the mucus membranes and to dissolve secretions, as well as the use of bronchial plasmas.

Bronchitics who suffered from bacterial nose and throat infections ought to have antibiotics prescribed as well. They should keep them handy and as soon as they felt an infection coming on they should take them to prevent the infection getting on to the lungs.

Dieter Dietrich

(Der Tagesspiegel, 23 July 1977)

Give incurables the right to die, say most people

The majority of people in this country want incurable patients to have the right to die. This is the result of a poll conducted by the Allensbach Institute for Demoscopy.

According to this poll, three out of four Germans are against doctors using every possible means at their disposal to prolong an incurably ill patient's life.

Three quarters of the population would also wish doctors to cut off oxygen to patients who have no real chance of ever regaining consciousness. There was no majority for artificially prolonging life in any age group or in any section of the population.

Seventy-seven per cent were against prolonging life at all costs. Fourteen per cent were for it, and nine per cent gave no opinion.

Fifty five per cent were for euthanasia, twenty nine per cent were against it and sixteen per cent were "undecided." *ddp*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 21 July 1977

Cancer kills 1,650 children every year

Cancer, the terrifying disease which is one of the main causes of death in Germany, does not spare children. Professor Bernhard Kornhuber, chairman of the Society for Pediatric Oncology (tumours in children) said in Frankfurt recently that 1,650 children die of cancer every year.

About 1,000 of these have malignant solid tumours and about 650 suffer from leukemia.

Deaths from cancer come second only to deaths caused by accidents among children. But a diagnosis of cancer does not by any means mean that all the children affected will die of the disease.

According to Professor Kornhuber, children have a better chance than adults of recovering from the disease because they respond better to drug and radiation treatment.

This applies to the most frequent form of cancer among children, so-called sarcoma (malignant diseases starting in the connective tissue) as well as to leukemia.

In the cases of tumours, the chances of a cure vacillate between 20 and 80 per cent — at the time of diagnosis it is impossible to tell whether the child will die or whether he can be saved. But the Frankfurt doctor points out that there are "no malignant illnesses which cannot be treated."

The better recovery chances of children compared to adults can be seen most graphically in the case of leukemia. Less than five per cent of older patients survive for more than eight years, whereas in the case of children the corresponding figure is 30 to 35 per cent.

In the case of acute lymphatic leukemia, which is by far the most common form of this disease among children, the recovery rate under optimal conditions could be increased to 60 per cent.

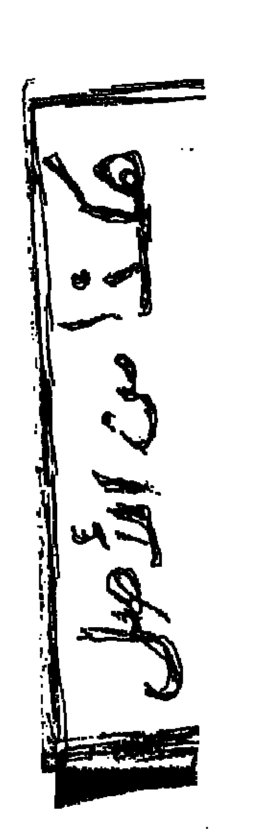
Before this could be done, however, eight tumour centres would have to be set up in this country.

Dr Kornhuber stressed that a disease as serious as cancer where therapy was so costly meant that centralisation was essential if optimal treatment was to be given.

Up to now only a third of all children suffering from cancer have been treated in clinics which dealt with less than five leukemia or tumour cases per year.

In-hospital treatment only lasts for the first few weeks. The children then become out-patients and this therapy lasts two to two and a half years as a rule. During this treatment, children are given so-called anti-metabolites, drugs which prevent cell-splitting.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 20 July 1977)



■ OUR WORLD

'We don't want pity', say thalidomide teenagers

I am ill at ease. Am I to proffer my hand to them? How does one greet somebody who has no arms? I am relieved when the general greeting passes without handshakes. But the insecurity remains.

The youngest son of the minister wanted to have a clear answer from Ulrike. "Are you worried?" he asked. The answer was an unequivocal "No" — much to the surprise of the five-year old. "But your case is a worrying one, so you must be worried," replied the boy.

The whole thing happened several months ago. On retelling the incident now, Ulrike laughs it off. And the others around her also react with laughter. They are Dirk and Uwe, Bärbel and Sabine, aged between 15 and 16, secondary school students and thalidomide victims like Ulrike. They were born without arms and some of them have additional physical handicaps.

At the time of their birth, in the early sixties, they made headlines. But interest waned as they grew older.

Then, about five years ago, public attention was once more focussed on them in connection with the financial claims of the more than 2,500 affected children in the Federal Republic of Germany. Compensation was made contingent on the degree of deformity.

The children were once more examined by a doctor and assessed. How much at a disadvantage is a person without legs? What is the price tag for a person's arms? What amount can offset damage to sensory perception?

The dispute extended over several years, ending in a settlement of DM25,000 for the hardest hit victims plus a maximum DM520 monthly payment.

Dirk is used to people saying, "look at that poor child," or "wait a moment, I've got something nice for you."

The grocer round the corner gave him goodies time and again and even strangers frequently stop him on the street to give him something. Says he: "A woman once gave me five marks on Berlin's Kurfürstendamm."

Such experiences are common among thalidomide victims. But how do they react? Says one of them: "I always say 'You needn't do that, you know.' But if they insist I take it. What can you do if people insist? I just let them have their way."

Sabine, Bärbel, Ulrike, Uwe und Dirk give the impression of selfassurance. On a Sunday morning while we sat together in the garden of Uwe's parents they were absolutely at ease and generally uncomplicated.

They move with ease and cope with run-of-the-mill activities without needing help. They have no trouble picking up their biscuits and they pour their own drinks — in this case cola with a shot of rum.

Uwe, who, as opposed to the others, does not even have arm stumps, holds his glass with his feet and has no trouble bringing it to his mouth.

While on vacation, Uwe's mother told us, her son was the cause of protests from other guests at their Spanish hotel because he ate as he does at home.

"Our fellow hotel guests," she said, "told us that we should either feed him or sit elsewhere. They were on vacation, they said, and should be spared such a sight."

One of the doctors, too, expressed the view that handicapped people stand out like a sore thumb in a holiday resort. While administering a smallpox vaccine he told one mother of a handicapped son, "If you want to spend a vacation with him you'll have to keep him locked in his room."

Said Sabine: "I don't think much of compassion. I think compassion is foolish." And 15-year old Dirk chimed in, "I don't feel at all like someone to be pitied." The others did not contradict him. And they all asked that no differences be made between them and others.

When Uwe recently swam in a gala against non-handicapped children he considered it at last a "fair competition." The other thalidomide victims also want to be treated as perfectly normal people.

But in most instances this remains an unfulfilled wish. Especially a walk through town frequently turns into running the gauntlet. "I simply ignore this," says 15-year old Bärbel.

The self-assured among the thalidomide victims say that one should pay no attention to the people.

One of them, who has neither arms nor legs and is confined to a wheelchair, says about his feelings as a seven-day-wonder: "I find being stared at in silence and without being asked questions pretty bad. It is much less of a shock when people speak to one."

But despite painful experiences, some of the victims show understanding for their environment. Says Bärbel: "We, too, might stare if we were in their place..." and then she adds, "but it isn't necessary to be so obvious about it."

Thalidomide victims are in the minority among our handicapped: 2,500 of more than six million.

The youngest of them are between 14 and 15 today and the oldest between 18 and 19. Most of them still go to school — and to normal schools at that. Very few of them have grown up in a ghetto situation.

But there are differences compared with other handicapped people. One of these differences is the obvious self-assurance of many thalidomide victims. They also seem to be approaching their objective of solidarity which some of them attribute to group work and athletic activities at an early stage.

The majority of the 40 thalidomide victims in the Bielefeld and East Westphalia region, for instance, have been active in the sports association for the handicapped since early childhood, and learned to stay on top (not only in swimming) and to develop self-confidence.

As the head of the sports association put it, "Only a well developed feeling of self-confidence enables the handicapped to live without bitterness."

But not all of them have achieved this goal, and there is still a great deal of discrimination — even in sport.

Uwe, an enthusiastic soccer player who says that he plays every day, wanted to play in a regular club like all the others. But he was not admitted due to insurance problems and because "no-one wanted to bear the responsibility."

He was told that he could practise along with the others although he was not permitted to take part in regular matches. Uwe dropped the whole thing since he felt that "being a little bit integrated" was not enough.

Some of the thalidomide children found that there is a certain lack of faith in their ability at school.

Thus, for instance, one of them wanted to become the spokesman for his class. But while his non-handicapped classmates were in favour of him, the teacher opposed the election of a handicapped child, arguing that without arms he would not be able to take notes as swiftly as non-handicapped children during sessions.

The fact that he could write every bit as well with his feet as his classmates could with their hands did not count.

Bärbel, Sabine, Uwe, Ulrike and Dirk talk about themselves without sentimentality, bitterness, self-pity or resignation. The five, who are by no means representative of thalidomide children as a whole, are agreed in saying that "one must not hide."

They fight against the cliché of the unfortunate handicapped. Ulrike tells how she answered a child who wanted to know why she had such short arms that "this is a mechanism with which I can retract my arms when they become too heavy."

Hearing these young people talk like this about their handicap it would seem that thir conflicts have been overcome. But some of the problems become evident in sentences that are just thrown in, such as the problems of finding a suitable occupation and of puberty.

It is difficult for instance, to talk about sex in this circle. And this reticence has its reasons, since the image of the handicapped as a "sexless being" is part and parcel of their lot.

The consequences of this handed-down and mistaken image make themselves felt not only in the attitude of strangers. Even friends withdraw during puberty.

As one mother put it: "Some of those who used to visit don't come any more. They want to have a 'real' boyfriend now."

This is a situation which is hard to cope with for many victims. In North-rhine-Westphalia, for instance, two of them attempted to commit suicide.

Thalidomide children cannot hide the fact that they are different. This is felt as a burden and makes them dependent, forcing them into attitudes and gestures that are not in keeping with the norm as borne out by the fact that Dirk, whose arms are very short, has to pat a dog with his foot. He does it gingerly and with tenderness.

A few days later, while watching a large group of thalidomide children, I was able to observe that this difference also has its own beauty: when greeting each other, they come much closer as a result of their affliction.

The fact remains, however, *that the* minority has to pay for being *different* — and not only figuratively speaking.

When Gisela Zimdars, chairman of the Parents' Association of Handicapped Children in East Westphalia, organised a meeting of handicapped children and their parents in a large hotel she was asked to pay a rental for the facility and the reason given was that "thalidomide children don't consume anything."

The moments when they can completely forget their affliction are for many thalidomide children very brief indeed. They can be hurt not only by rejection but also by excessive helpfulness.

"Adults," say these young people "make a problem of everything." And they include their parents.

Says one of them: "In earlier years I was told on my birthday: Today we'll have your friends from school and tomorrow your sporting friends."

In plain language this meant: "Today we'll have the non-handicapped and tomorrow the handicapped." But this has changed in the meantime. Says the youngster: "I told my mother that I didn't like this separation; and now we always invite all of them together."

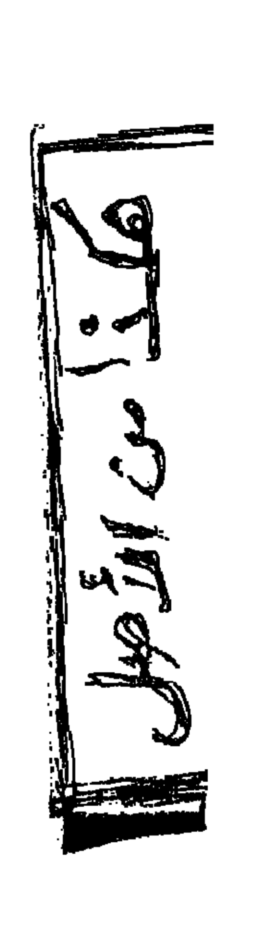
Bärbel, Sabine, Ulrike, Uwe and Dirk commented that it was bad to spend all ones time with handicapped children. In doing so, they said, "one becomes branded — just like the foreign workers here."

The discussion round is coming to an end and again the question arises, does one proffer one's hand on leaving? There remains some uncertainty which Ulrike removes by proffering hers.

My fear that squeezing the seemingly fragile fingers could hurt her proves unwarranted. "You can't hurt anything there," says Dirk a few days later with certainty. And as he shakes hands with me I, too, am certain.

Raimund Hoghe
(Die Zeit, 22 July 1977)


(Photo: Juergen Volkmann)



■ SPORT

School sport not up to scratch, say students



Pupils and teachers alike take a dim view of the sports facilities provided at school, says Professor Günter Dahmen of Hamburg University Hospital.

He headed a team of orthopaedic specialists who conducted a wide-ranging survey of sport at school, the results of which have just been published.

Three hundred teachers and 2,205 pupils (roughly half boys, half girls) at 26 Hamburg schools were asked to air their views *on the subject.*

The schools included eleven elementary and secondary schools, four high schools, ten trades colleges and three comprehensive schools.

For purposes of evaluation pupils were subdivided into three age groups.

Sports facilities at school have long been criticised as unsatisfactory, and the physical education training and general outlook of teachers appears to be the first point on which criticism may well be justified.

Three hundred games masters and mistresses were questioned, but only 138 were prepared to cooperate, and only thirty per cent of them can fairly claim to have undergone training as sports teachers at university or teacher training college.

Twenty per cent or so reckon to have qualified as sports teachers on refresher courses, but since these courses only last a fortnight or so their value is dubious, to say the least.

A further 29 per cent reckon to have qualified in other, unspecified ways. Let us assume, for instance, that a teacher who has qualified as a swimming instructor will come under this heading.

Qualified sports teachers are so few and far between that a teacher who has a life-saving medal or has attended keep-fit classes at night school might well be entrusted with the supervision of physical training in the school gymnasium.

That still leaves a fair number of sports teachers who trankly admit that they have no proper qualifications. On what basis are they appointed? Merely because they are non-playing members of their local sports club? No clear criteria seem to apply.

In all fairness, however, it must be added that the thirty per cent of sports teachers who have been trained as such supervise, between them, roughly half the games lessons held at school.

So pupils stand a fifty-fifty chance of attending gymnastics and sport classes supervised by qualified staff.

What is more, four out of five pupils claimed to enjoy sport and to engage in sporting activities in their spare time. Sixty-three per cent enjoy sports lessons at school too.

But the figures quoted so far were compiled from questionnaires, and the Hamburg doctors who conducted the survey point out that the answers given in verbal interviews often tell a different tale.

Two out of three pupils who are dissatisfied with sport at school are critical because there are not enough sports lessons on the timetable. Fifty per cent reckon the facilities are inadequate; one in four claim that the teachers are not much good either.

But only six per cent are opposed to the whole idea of sport at school, and they probably include girls at a Hamburg trades college who reckoned to be sick and tired of swimming, which seemed to account for the first half of every sports lesson in their curriculum.

Nearly one pupil in four felt it was convenient to be excused sport, but only 2.7 per cent reckoned it was in any way desirable.

On the other hand, sixteen per cent of the pupils questioned claimed not to care one way or the other whether physical training forms part of their curriculum.

The interviewers were surprised to discover that roughly half the pupils questioned felt it would be rather unpleasant to be excused sport. Some schoolchildren even go so far as to feel this is tantamount to being written off or pilloried as a disgrace.

At the same time a number of pupils, usually older boys and girls, take a more pragmatic view of being excused gym or PT. "Sooner be excused than be given poor grades that hit your grades average below the belt."

Günter Dahmen, himself the father of five children, reckons the views expressed in the course of the Hamburg survey represent a cross-section of the views that predominate in all aspects of life in a society that sets such great store by merit and accomplishment.


Children playing sport at a Hamburg school
(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

Teachers are prone to lament that there are too many shirkers, but the truth is that there are relatively few, although their number increases as pupils grow older.

Shirkers account for fewer than two per cent of the under-thirteens, seven per cent of the fourteen- to sixteen-year-olds and sixteen per cent of so of senior pupils.

Girls skip sports lessons twice as often as boys.

Eight per cent of the teachers who answered the questionnaire reckon doctors are too obliging when it comes to issuing certificates on the basis of which pupils are excused sport.

Nearly one teacher in three is convinced it would be better if a pupil's family doctor were to issue certificates of this kind for a limited period only.

The most frequent reason stated for non-attendance is illness (34.8 per cent), followed by injury (twenty per cent). Parental or personal wishes, whatever they may be, account for a mere one and a half per cent of explanations given.

Younger sports teacher tend no longer to give grades for performances in the gym or on field or track. In any case children in this country cannot, in either theory or practice, fail to qualify for university entrance merely because they cannot swim, say, as used to be the case in a number of European countries.

Children's doctors are likewise opposed to grading of sports lessons. Grades do not make much sense, they claimed at a recent congress in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. More exercise and less talk would be preferable.

The Hamburg orthopaedic specialists do not, however, feel the abolition of grades will make much difference one way or the other. Sport comes, and will continue to come, low in the list of educational priorities. *Kurt Trettner*

(Die Zeit, 29 July 1977)

Soccer fans tell pollsters what's wrong with the game

Opinion pollsters have now added football fans to the virtually inexhaustible list of topics into which they have sunk their psephological teeth.

Warentest, the West Berlin consumer research foundation, has delved with German thoroughness and attention to detail into every conceivable aspect of soccer, from ground facilities to the views and habits of the average fan.

Warentest's Roland Hüttenrauch told a Düsseldorf press conference on 26 July that, for instance, 52 per cent of people in this country reckon soccer no longer has much to do with sport; they feel show business has taken the upper hand.

This view is shared by 44 per cent of the fans who regularly pass through the turnstile to watch their local club in action from the stands and terraces — which may or may not gratify clubs and managements.

Regular spectators are far from entirely satisfied with ground facilities. They would appreciate slightly more varied entertainment than 45 minutes each way and feel admission charges are too high.

At a number of grounds they reckon the toilet facilities leave much to be desired and the same, they feel, is true of medical facilities. Parking and access almost invariably come in for criticism.

In last season's first division of Bundesliga soccer the grounds that were given the best ratings by fans were Düsseldorf, Munich and Cologne in that order.

Last season 7.4 million fans passed through the Bundesliga turnstiles, paying sixteen to seventeen deutschmarks each on average. Forty-nine per cent of fans seldom miss a home match.

Bochum and Brunswick boast the most faithful fans, with 60 and 63 per cent of fans in regular attendance. Bayern Munich, oddly enough, seems to have the fewest regular fans, and now that a second Munich club is back in the major league Bayern's gates might well slump.

The fans are not worried about advertising. They just want to see good football. Forty-eight per cent come to watch "their" club, while 47 per cent claim to have a more general interest in sport.

More than half the soccer fans questioned are convinced that aggro could be nipped in the bud if only a total ban on alcohol were enforced at the ground.

So much for the fan's views. What about the fan himself? Yes, statistically speaking soccer fans are predominantly male. Only four per cent are female, this percentage being exceeded only in Hamburg and Saarbrücken.

Fifty per cent of fans are married men between the ages of twenty and 29. With increasing age interest in soccer declines.

So much, indeed, for the statistics, but the Warentest pollsters went on to make a number of convincing conclusions:

— It is high time clubs realised that for the prices they charge they must offer soccer fans more than what may turn out to be a no more than mediocre hour and a half's football.

Additional pre- and post-match entertainment ought to be provided. Maybe, Roland Hüttenrauch suggests, a company could be set up to provide Bundesliga clubs with appropriate facilities.

— Grounds ought also to have childminders for small children and cut-price stand admission for older children.

— A strict ban on the consumption of alcohol would go a long way towards ending soccer violence.

— Prices at snack bars and shops inside the ground might also be scrutinised. Fans everywhere feel that stallholders tend to overcharge for their goods and services. *Theo Schulte*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 July 1977)